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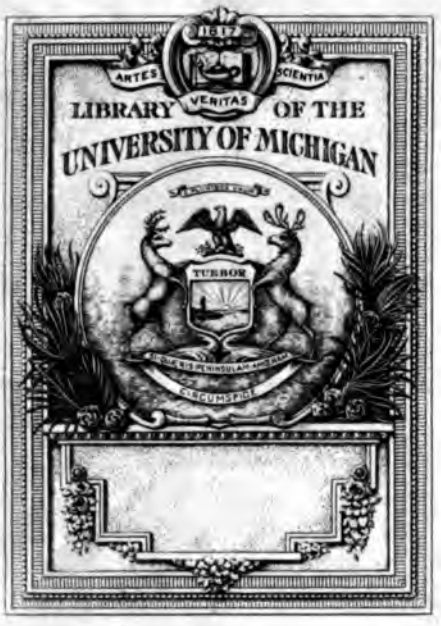
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THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THE

UNITED IRISHMEN,

THEIR

LIVES AND TIMES.

BY

R. R. MADDEN, M.D.

WITH NUMEROUS ORIGINAL PORTRAITS.

"The mind of a nation, when long fettered and exasperated, will struggle and bound, and when a chasm is open, will escape through it, like lava from the crater of a volcano."—J. K. L.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

J. MADDEN & CO., LEADENHALL-STREET.

MDCCCXLIII.

TYLER & REED,
PRINTERS,
BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

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[redacted]

Thomas Addis Emmet M.D.
53 Merrion Sq. Dublin & Tinode
1901

MEMOIR

OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

CHAPTER I.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET was the son of an eminent physician, Dr. Robert Emmet, who held for many years in Dublin the appointment of state physician. Dr. Emmet's father, of Tipperary, had married a Miss Temple, a descendant of Sir John Temple, and had two children, Thomas and Robert. He died in the year 1743.* His second son, Robert, was brought up to the medical profession. For some time, he practised in Cork, removed to the capital, and in 1771, then a licentiate of the Dublin College of Physicians, he obtained the appointment of state physician, vacant by the death of Dr. Robertson, and this situation he held during the remainder of his life, and was succeeded by Dr. Cleghorne in 1802. Dr. Emmet's residence in Stephen's Green, No. 109, the site of the house now occupied by

* By the registry of wills, at the Prerogative Court, Dublin, administration appears to have been granted to the widow of Christopher Emmet, November 14, 1743.

1

Dr. Wilmot, continued to be the residence of his sons, after they had entered on the world.

In a recent work, the character of Dr. Emmet is placed in an absurd and injurious light. He is represented as instilling into the minds of his sons the most extravagant principles, as exaggerating the duties of patriotism to the point of recommending the performance of the most insane acts; of having his "pill and his plan" ready for every evil, physical or political, and of so drugging his prescriptions with politics that "he would kill the patient who would take the one, and ruin the country that would listen to the other." The same passion for antithesis, for aggregating striking contrasts and strong dissimilarities in the same paragraph, which distinguished the most splendid of the speeches of the gentleman on whose authority this account is given, is observable in this statement. The person living who is the best qualified to speak of the habits and principles of Dr. Emmet, a gentleman intimately connected by ties of friendship and other relations with his family, who lived under his roof, and still has a perfect remembrance of his character and of his conduct towards his children, declares that beyond passing observations on the duty which every man owed his country, there are no grounds for the injurious statements. The plain fact of the matter is, some of the leading members of the Whig club and of the opposition in Parliament, whose fierce denunciations of the Government, whose representation of the corruption of Parliament, the evils of the intolerable borough system, had inflamed

the people to the highest pitch of political frenzy, became desirous to account for the acts which they committed when labouring under the excitement of passions thus inflamed, by ascribing to democratic violence, or the mischievous counsels of the persons by whom they were guided, all the misfortunes which befell the people. Dr. Emmet was a man of warmth of feeling, frank, upright, and stedfast in his opinions. His lady was a person of a noble disposition and of a vigorous understanding, fit to be the mother of three such children as Temple, Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet. The parents of such children ought to have been exempt from the attempt to represent them as unfaithful to their parental duty, or unfortunate in their notions of its obligations.

Temple Emmet was brought up to the bar; he was born in Cork, in 1761, was educated at the school of Mr. Kerr, and entered College in 1775, at the age of fourteen, under Mr. Hales. He was called to the bar in 1781, and during his short professional career, a period not exceeding seven years, (for he died in 1788,) his brilliant talents and eminent legal attainments obtained for him a character that in the same brief space was probably never gained at the Irish bar.

He married a widow lady of the name of Western, the daughter of Robert Temple, Esq., and had one daughter, Catherine, who died unmarried about 1827. In his profession, his eminence as a lawyer was acknowledged by all his contemporaries; nor in literary pursuits was he less distinguished. Several poetical pieces of his appeared in a collection of original

poems, published by Edkin, in 1789, and others in a later edition in 1803. One of these, addressed to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, "The Decree," for beauty of imagery and smoothness of versification, is not surpassed by many poems in our language.

Mr. Grattan, in his memoirs of his father, gives the following account of Temple Emmet:—

"Temple Emmet, before he came to the bar, knew more law than any of the Judges on the bench; and if he had been placed on one side, and the whole bench opposed to him, he could have been examined against them, and would have surpassed them all; he would have answered better both in law and divinity than any Judge or any Bishop in the land. He had a wonderful memory, he recollected every thing, it stuck to him with singular tenacity. He showed this in his early youth, and on one occasion he gave a strong instance of it. There existed at that time in Dublin College, an institution called the Historical Society; there were subjects selected for discussion, and prior to the debate there was an examination in history. On one occasion the books happened to be mislaid, and it was thought no examination could have taken place; but Emmet, whose turn it was to be in the chair, and who had read the course, recollected the entire, and examined in every part of it, and with surprising ability." *

Mr. Grattan speaks of his eloquence as abounding in imagery, which gave too much of a poetic character to his oratory. The few, however, of his

* Grattan's Life and Times, vol. iv. p. 356.

contemporaries who were living within the author's recollection entertained a different opinion of its merits; and amongst them were some of the most highly gifted of their countrymen.

The Historical Society — "the normal school" of Irish eloquence — the first arena on which the talents of the most distinguished men of Ireland, of all parties, strove for mastery, is intimately connected with the history of the subject of this memoir.

Its origin and early proceedings excited no less interest than the career and destiny of those who were its brightest ornaments; and to that interest the research is due which has enabled the author to give some particulars respecting the society to the public.

The archives of the Historical Society, after much inquiry, were by him traced to the possession of the son of one of its original members, Mr. Kinchela, of Kilkenny, late mayor of that city; and to that gentleman's liberality he is indebted for the use of the records in question. They consist chiefly of the laws, some fragments of the reports of the proceedings, and of the dispute of the Society with the Board of the University. These documents are connected more especially with the proceedings and constitution of the second Historical Society, which was established in 1792.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

The first Historical Society was formed in 1770, by some members of Trinity College, Dublin, who, observing the deficiencies of the academic system, and the total neglect of every useful branch of the

belles lettres in the under-graduate course, devised this means of encouraging a taste for History and Elocution; every allusion to contemporary events or persons being prohibited. No persons were eligible but students of long standing, and Fellows as honorary members.

The Society flourished for about twenty-two years. The names of the greatest men that Ireland can boast of, are to be found on the roll of its members. Temple Emmet, Bushe, Plunket, the friend of the latter, T. W. Tone, who filled the situation of Auditor; and so early as 1786, had already "obtained three medals from the Historical Society."*

The old Society having lost several of its ablest members, and amongst others, its pride and ornament, Temple Emmet, had gradually declined. In 1792, it was remodelled, or rather revived, under a new name, "The Junior Historical Society."

The record of its proceedings, in the documents above named, is scanty and defective. The code of laws is perfect; and the following brief outline of the more important rules may not be uninteresting.

"The Society to meet in November, and continue its sittings till the month of June following, every year, on each Monday evening.

"At every meeting the President to appoint two members to bring in two questions for debate each; one of which the Society was to choose for the next evening's debate. One of the said members to defend, the other to oppose the subject of debate.

* Tone's Life, Wash. Ed., vol. i. p. 22.

"At every meeting, thirty pages of history to be made the subject of examination.

"Graduates of the university to be excused from such examination.

"Elections to be made and votes taken by ballot.

"Every member residing in college to give his chambers in turn for the use of the society.

"Every person on the college books, or a graduate of the university, to be entitled to be proposed for admission.

"At the conclusion of each debate, each member to give in the name of the person, in his opinion, who was the best speaker on the question.

"Once a month, the name to be laid before the society, of the person having the greatest number of commendations in oratory; and where the number shall exceed fifteen, a medal to be awarded to him.

"A similar reward for the best answers at each month's meetings, at the regular examinations on historical subjects.

"The office of president to continue for one month; each session to close with a speech from the chair."

"The historians" in providing for their intellectua refections, appear not to have neglected refreshments of another kind; for it is enacted, that

"The treasurer shall find the society in tea and cakes, prior to the chair being taken."

In the few reports of the proceedings which are given, the names of the speakers, in most instances, are omitted.

The first meeting of this society, on the 16th April, 1792, was opened by Mr. John Kinchela, with an

address, explanatory and commendatory of the objects of the institution. In concluding his address, the speaker recommended this "School of History and Theatre of Oratory" to his youthful auditory. "The day," he said, "of emancipation from academical toils will soon come; but when you have been launched on this busy world, and have left this society to your successors, the avocations of life shall teach you to consider the circle of this youthful community as a little struggling world in itself. With what satisfaction then shall you consider, that you were the founders of such an institution; and when your pursuits will permit you to pay a casual visit to the meetings of this society, you will feel a pleasure in recalling the days of yore, and talking over the little affairs of this institution, which owes its foundation and its prosperity to you."

On the next subject of debate, "Whether the death of King Charles the First was justifiable?" a very able speech in the negative was pronounced, and is given at length in the report of the proceedings.

At a meeting the 5th of April, 1792, on the question, "Whether the conquest of barbarous nations for the purpose of civilization is justifiable?" the report is given of a speech in the affirmative of the exploded proposition; it is an able speech, however, and displays no little ingenuity in making "the worse appear the better reason."

The Society in 1794 encountered the hostility of the board of Fellows of Trinity College.

The admission of a graduate into the Historical Society, the Rev. Mr. C——, who had been expelled

from College, was made the pretext for bringing down the censure of the Board on Mr. Hugh Kerr, one of its leading members, and a threat of expulsion of any student of College who should attend a meeting of the Society outside the College walls. This proceeding, and other vexatious steps, such as the withdrawal of the use of the hall formerly granted for their meetings, on the original terms, put an end to the meetings of the Historical Societies within the walls of the College. "The Exhibition Room" was engaged for their meetings, the latter end of April, 1794. The Board in the early part of April, had plainly signified its disapproval of the proceedings of the Society; Tone, Corbet, Bro ne, Robert Emmet (then a lad under seventeen years of age), John Shears, James M'Cabe, Peter Burrowes, Kerr, and Lawson, were then among its stirring members; while Hayden and Macarthy, Scully, Power, and Ardagh stood less prominently forward, and were influenced more by the love of letters, than enthusiasm and politics, in attending. Several of the former class were suspected by the Board of entertaining republican principles, and of having made the Historical Society a theatre for the discussion of modern politics. The Board took an indirect mode of attacking the Society; one of the Fellows, the Rev. George Miller, at a meeting of the Society, took occasion to inform an old member of the Society, that if he did not immediately quit the room he would move for his expulsion. The grounds for this menace were, that the member had been expelled from College, and none but those in College or on its

books were privileged to be members of the Historical Society. The member withdrew, and the following day an order from the Board directed that no person should be admitted to the debates of the Historical Society, whose name was not on the books.

The order for the exclusion of Extern members was the beginning of the war, which was carried on with much vehemence for a length of time between the College Board and the Society, and enlisted in the quarrel the wit, eloquence, learning, and satirical propensities of both parties.

In this "civil war of wit," the partisans of the Board, and the refractory members of the Society, belaboured one another with classical cudgels. The press teemed with erudite pasquinades. The combat was carried on by "a college of wit crackers that could not be flouted out of their humour."

"The Academic Sportsman, or seven Wise Men of Gotham," fell foul of "The Chichesterian, or the Spouting Academy." Comedies, burlesque heroics, satirical songs, ludicrous poems, were put forth by the collegiate belligerents, some in the vernacular tongue, others in dead languages—

> "A savage Greek and Latin war
> Like that which Bentley waged with Parr."

Among the squibs which the Historians condescended to write in English, the following is a fair specimen of the grave irony brought to bear on the interference of the Board of Fellows:—

"At a full meeting of the Vintners, Publicans, and Courtezans, in the city of Dublin, held the 1st

of May, 1794, Mrs. Margaret Leeson in the chair, Resolved—

"1. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Vice Provost and Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, for their public spirited suppression of the Historic Society.

"2. That the said Society has considerably injured our respective trades, by employing the gentlemen of the University (formerly their best customers) one whole evening in the week in literary pursuits, and wasting many other evenings in preparation for it.

"3. That the kind interference of the College must cause the custom of the College to return gradually to us, and the time of the young gentlemen to be more profitably employed than in the pursuits of the said institution.

"That the President and Senior Fellows be made free of our society, and that the freedom of the same be presented to them in a quicksilver box.

"Mrs. Leeson having left the chair, and Mrs. Simpson being called thereto, Resolved—

"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mrs. Leeson, for her very proper conduct in the chair.

"Signed, by order,

"CATHERINE GRANT, *Secretary.*"

A FRAGMENT OF "A SONG TO BE SUNG IN CELEBRATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF FELLOWS."

"The board of old Alma, when sitting in glee,
To our humble petition was pleased to agree,
That its seers our protectors and patrons should be;
That historic dispute
Should henceforward be mute,
And get such a check and expulsion to boot,
That the lads of the college, like us, might entwine
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

"The news through the houses immediately flew,
And the inmates began then to give themselves airs:
'If these lads had been suffered their schemes to pursue,
The deuce of a lady could live above stairs;'
But now sure the cry
Is, in transports of joy,
'Ye sons of old Alma, to us shall you fly,
And thanks to the fellows, we'll teach you to twine,
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.'

"The yellow-hair'd God, with his nine fusty maids,
No longer to Alma shall venture to flee,
Idalia once more takes them back to her shades,
And Parnassus again their old prison shall be.
The vice provost learn'd
Has sent them an errand,
They'll never in college again be discern'd,
Nor ever more hinder the students to twine,
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine."

&c. &c. &c.

The issue of a contest with the heads of an institution, in which Lord Clare exerted authority, might have been easily foreseen. The Historical Society got the character of a Jacobin club, its members were placed under the ban of the Lord Chancellor, and in 1798, at a visitation held by his Lordship at Trinity College, one of the charges brought against a number of the students arraigned on that occasion, was that of belonging to the Historical Society. The society broke down; Tone, who was to the second society what Temple Emmet was to the first, was then furnishing work for history instead of discussing its details. Among the students who were expelled, or had withdrawn in 1798, was Robert Emmet, whose loss to the society was not the least of its disasters, nor did it survive it.

In 1810 the Historical Society was again revived—some young barristers, of liberal politics and distinguished for their abilities, Counsellor Finlay, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. John Martin Anster, whose beautiful "Ode to Fancy" obtained the prize medal of the society in 1813, were among its leading members. This society shared the fate of its predecessors in 1815 or 1816, and once more it rose from its ashes, and still is in existence, recalling, if not the bright and palmy days of the original society, in no slight degree the dawning talents that were displayed in that by which it was preceeded.

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET was born in Cork the 24th of April, 1764. He was placed at the same school as his brother, and at the age of fourteen entered Trinity College, in 1778, under the same tutor as his brother, Mr. Hales. His career at college, if less brilliant than that of his brother Temple, was such as gave ample promise of his future eminence. His qualities were not of the same shining character. The powers of his imagination were less remarkable than the solidity of his judgment, and the logical precision and acumen of his reasoning faculties. His oratorical efforts were distinguished by no bold flights of impassioned eloquence; they abounded not in the flowers of a poetic imagination, but in plants of a less precocious maturity—of a more enduring bloom:—an impressive earnestness of manner, an honesty of purpose, and sincerity of conviction in the delivery of his sentiments; a strict adherence to truth; a manly scorn of the meanness of subterfuge or falsehood; a closeness of reasoning that never deviated from its essential line of argument, and on occasions which called for the display of fervid feelings, an outbreak of indignant or enthusiastic eloquence which

formed a striking contrast with the apparent calmness of reflection and coldness of feeling which his staid demeanour and contemplative cast of countenance would seem to indicate.

His physical conformation was not robust; he was small of stature, measured in his gait, and retiring and unobtrusive in his deportment. In his dress he was careless—almost negligent; he bestowed no attention on personal appearance. His head and features were finely formed; all the compactness that a phrenologist would look for in the head of a man of profound thought, and the accordance of the outline of the features with that precision and straightforwardness of character which the physiognomist would expect to find combined in a person of inflexible principles and of fixed, well considered, and invariable opinions in the modern Cato of a party, or of his country at large. A slight cast in his eyes, accompanied or caused by a habit of closing his eyelids, incidental to what is termed "nearness of sight," gave a kind of peering expression to his regard. It was that of a man who communed more with himself than with external things; but its predominant expression was benevolence: it was the regard of a man whose suavity of disposition was too great to be spoiled by studious habits, by strong convictions on political subjects, or a determined purpose to act upon them when the occasion came for action.

Thomas A. Emmet being designed for the medical profession, was sent to Edinburgh to pursue his studies. There he became the fellow student of Mr. (subsequently Sir) James Mackintosh, of Dr. Samuel

Mitchel, who became celebrated in the pursuit of natural history in America, of Dr. Rogers, afterwards of New York, and the intimate acquaintance of Dugald Stewart. He remained at Edinburgh during the years 1783, 4, 5, and 6, and his time there was most industriously employed. He devoted himself with uncommon ardour to his professional studies: two of his medical books are now in the possession of the author, one in the French, and the other in the Latin language; and the ample notes, sufficient to fill a small sized volume in either books, are in the language of each work. His popularity with his fellow students was so great, that at one time he was the president of no less than five societies, some of them connected with literary, some with scientific, some with medical subjects: the Speculative, the Royal Medical, the Physical Societies, &c.

His intimacy with Mackintosh did not cease with his sojourn at the University. When he had graduated in medicine, and visited London on his way to the Continent, he renewed his acquaintance with his fellow-student, and was cordially received by him.

Having visited the principal continental schools of medicine, travelled through Germany, France, and Italy, he returned to Ireland about 1788, the period of the lamented death of his elder brother. Of him, Thomas Addis was accustomed to speak as "one of the foremost men in point of talent that Ireland ever produced."

The death of Temple Emmet changed the destiny of his brother. It is said that it was at his father's desire he relinquished his profession, and determined

on going to the bar; but his own account to the friend in Ireland, still living, in whom, of all others, he reposed the greatest trust, and with great reason for so doing, referred the change to the advice of Mackintosh, on the occasion of his passing through London, on his return to Ireland.* Mackintosh's opinion of his talents we find some account of in the Memoirs of his Life, lately published by his son.

* Life of Sir James Mackintosh, vol. i. p. 27.

CHAPTER III.

MACKINTOSH, in speaking of his companions and fellow-students at Edinburgh, makes mention of Hope, Clerk (Lord President of the Council), Malcolm Laing, the historian, Professor Wilde, Benjamin Constant, "a Swiss, of singular manners and powerful talents, and who made a transient appearance in the tempestuous atmosphere of the French revolution," and Thomas Emmet, "who soon after quitted physic for law, and became distinguished at the bar." There is a miserable affectation prevalent of under-rating the oratorical powers of eminent Irishmen, even such men as Burke, Grattan, and Curran, and of describing their highest flights of eloquence as appeals to the passions, in contra-distinction to the cool, deliberate, argumentative appeals to the reason which distinguish the oratorical powers of Scotch and English speakers. Mackintosh says,* "Emmet did not reason, but he was an eloquent declaimer, with the taste which may be called Irish, and which Grattan had then rendered *so popular at Dublin.* Wilde had no precision and no elegance; he copied too much the faults of Mr. Burke's manner."

* Mackintosh's Life, &c., vol. i. p. 27.

There are men in America, eminent in the legal profession, elevated to its highest honours, who would not disparage the erudition or the dignity of the bench in England, who are fully as competent as Sir James Mackintosh to form a just opinion of oratorical merit, and the author has heard such men pronounce opinions on the peculiarities of Emmet's eloquence; but he never heard from them or from anybody connected with the department especially devoted to jurisprudence in the American university, neither from its president, Dr. Duer, nor any other person well acquainted with Emmet's efforts at the American bar, "that he did not reason." On the contrary, the general opinion entertained in that country is, that Emmet was a very close and powerful reasoner.

In the strange revolution of time and events, when Mackintosh was in Scotland, in 1801, "Constant was a tribune in France, Hope was Lord Advocate of Scotland, and Emmet, his former companion, was then a prisoner under his control."

T. A. Emmet, shortly after his brother's death, went to London, read two years in the Temple, occasionally attended the courts at Westminster, and often spoke with pleasure of having heard Erskine plead at the beginning of his career. He returned to Dublin, and was admitted to the bar in 1790.

The earliest notice I find of the efforts of T. A. Emmet at the bar is one, of the proceedings in the month of June, 1792, in the singular case of James Napper Tandy against the Viceroy, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Lord Chancellor, the Right Hon. John Foster and Arthur Wolfe, Timothy Dillon and George

O'Reilly, Esqrs. Matthew Dowling, the attorney of Tandy, had issued a subpœna against the Lord Lieutenant, and the singular question came on to be argued before the judges in the court of Exchequer the 27th of June, " Whether any action, civil or criminal, can lie against a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, pending his Viceroyalty ?"

These proceedings arose out of a proclamation, bearing the names of the Lord Lieutenant and some members of the Privy Council, offering a reward for the apprehension of Tandy.

The proceedings were instituted on the ground that the official rank of the Lord Lieutenant was conferred by letters patent, under the great seal of Great Britain; while the great seal of Ireland was the only one which could be recognised in any court of law in Ireland.

Tandy's action against the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council was an evidence of as extraordinary temerity as his descent on the coast of Donegal in 1798. The circumstances of Tandy's case are briefly these—He was secretary to the Dublin Society of United Irishmen. It became the object of the Society to discover the views of the Defenders: he accordingly met a party of Defenders at Castle Bellingham, where he took the oath; he was informed against, a bill of indictment was privately prepared against him at the Louth assizes, the authorities expecting to take him on his way to Dublin, where he had shortly to stand his trial for libel. He was informed of his danger, however, at Dundalk, and soon after quitted the kingdom.

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JAMES MARPLE TANDY

From an original portrait drawn and engraved 15 Petrie.

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Previously to his departure in 1792, he had challenged Toler, the solicitor-general; and Toler, it is said, was content to waive his privilege as an officer of government, but finding that Tandy was dilatory in taking advantage of the readiness on his part intimated to his opponent, he complained of the breach of privilege, and Tandy was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons; a warrant was issued against him, and subsequently a proclamation was put forth, offering a reward for his apprehension. These were the grounds of the proceedings against the Viceroy and his Privy Councillors.

The final hearing of the motion came on Nov. 26, 1792: The Honourable Simon Butler, T. A. Emmet, and Mr. Nally, for the plaintiff, Tandy. The result was what might be expected; and the case is only curious for the report of the speech of Emmet, the first of his on record, and the one at greatest length of any that has reached us. In that speech there were sufficient indications of ability of the first order, to justify the anxiety felt to take him from the bar, and to shelve such formidable talents on the bench.

The next account met with of his practice, is at the assizes of Tralee, April, 1793, at the trial of Lieut. Carr, for the murder of a Mr. O'Connell, who had been shot in a duel by the prisoner. Emmet was the counsel for the latter.

Before the alteration in the constitution of the United Irish Society, in 1795, a case occurred before Prime Serjeant Fitzgerald, in which a conviction was obtained on a charge of administering the United Irishman's oath, then a capital offence. Emmet ap-

peared for the prisoners on a motion in arrest of judgment. He took up the pleadings in which the words of the oath were recited, and he read them in a very deliberate manner, and with all the gravity of a man who felt that he was binding his soul by the obligations of a solemn oath. The words were to the following effect:—"I, A. B., in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which, every reform in parliament must be partial, not national, inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient to the freedom and happiness of this country."

Having read the test—defended its obligations with a power of reasoning and a display of legal knowledge, in reference to the subject of the distinction between legal and illegal oaths, which the counsel for the prosecution described as producing an extraordinary impression, he addressed the court in the following terms:—

"My Lords—Here, in the presence of this legal court, this crowded auditory—in the presence of the Being that sees and witnesses, and directs this judicial tribunal,—here, my lords, I, myself, in the presence of God, declare, I take the oath."

He then took the book that was on the table, kissed it, and sat down. No steps were taken by the court against the newly-sworn United Irishman: the amazement of its functionaries left them in no fit state of mind either for remonstrance or reproval. The prisoners received a very lenient sentence.

The only speech of T. A. Emmet reported at length, on the trials of the United Irishmen in which he was professionally engaged, was in the case of twelve prisoners, who had been imprisoned nearly seven months in the artillery barracks of Belfast, and were brought up by *habeas corpus*, directed to General Lake and Colonel Barber, before the Court of King's Bench, the 10th of October, 1797.

In Emmet's admirable speech on behalf of the prisoners, the observation of Mackintosh, that "he did not reason," was palpably refuted. The law of the land in reference to the violation of it on the part of military officers in converting their barracks into common prisons, when martial law was not enforced, in keeping men immured for indefinite periods, without the form even of a committal by a justice of the peace, in depriving them of the benefit which the law accorded at each term which prescribed a general gaol delivery, was laid down in a speech replete with legal knowledge, and free from any declamatory tropes or figures. After arguing at considerable length, that every place of confinement must be one recognised by the law, and every committal directed by a justice of the peace to a gaoler legally appointed, he asked, "Who is this General Lake? Is he gaoler-general of the north? or has Colonel Barber a

patent for his private prisons? By what authority do they confine the subjects of this land in their quarters or their houses, and deprive them of bail or mainprize? If they have such authority, to what purpose does the law say that no gaol shall be erected without act of parliament, or at least without the king's grant?

"Would to God, my lords,—I speak it in the sincerity of a man who prizes tranquillity above every thing but liberty and virtue,—would to God I could persuade you, my lords, to interfere your dignified and venerable authority in favour of insulted law, and once more to endeavour to restore quietness throughout this distracted land,—that I could expect you to interfere in a manner warranted by precedent, sanctioned by success, and dictated by necessity."*

It was on very rare occasions that T. A. Emmet appeared as counsel for the United Irishmen at the trials of 1797 and 1798. An understanding had been entered into with their leaders that he should take no prominent part in their behalf, from the time that he became intimately connected with their proceedings in 1796. He acted in the capacity of chamber lawyer to their committees, and there were few events of importance to their interests on which he was not consulted by them. Such was his position in relation to the Society at the period when he became a member of it, in 1796. It is necessary now to inquire into the views and prospects of the Society at the date of his connexion with it.

* The *Press* Newspaper, No. 26, November 25, 1797.

As in the rebellion of 1641, there were three distinct parties in Ireland professedly combined for one object; not co-operating cordially, but frequently conflicting and contending for the supremacy of their opinions; so in 1798, there were, 1st—"Actual Reformers;" 2nd—"Emancipators;" 3rd—"Revolutionists." All these professed to travel by one route, but on many occasions diverged. They were like three instruments in a concert, very good when in tune and sounding together harmoniously, but when the second or third instrument got out of tune, the whole was discord, and the concert proved a failure. In the north, the Presbyterians, who were principally of the first and third class, and with whom "the *United* system" originated, (but with whom "emancipation" was a secondary object,) would not at first move in unison with the party by whom emancipation was the primary object; while the third class, who were the "emancipators," looked more to the acquisition of the civil and religious rights which, under the existing constitution, the other classes were already in possession of, than for any change in the form of Government, or the substitution of a republican for a monarchial one. Of all classes, there were many who were insensibly led on from the pursuit of objects that were attainable by legal means, to the contemplation of designs ulterior to the first, which could only be accomplished by means which were not legal. Accordingly we find, as the views or influence of one or other of the parties preponderated, they varied in their plans, and the jangling that followed was alone the cause of their failure; at least, a great

deal of the obstacles which sprung up and beset their society arose from *these causes.*

A very large portion of the members of the first society entertained no views beyond reform, and many of these, when the oath was first proposed, seceded, and never returned; and yet this oath became, for a time, the strongest bond of the union among the people.

There is no slight analogy between the plans and projects of the Greek revolution and those of the leaders of the United Irish insurrection. Secret oaths were a part of the agency of both. The history of political oaths, in every age and country, is one not devoid of interest nor of instruction: ultimate evil to those who have recourse to them, every where seems to be the invariable result of their adoption.

In reflecting on the conflicting interests which in insurrectionary movements it is attempted to reconcile and to amalgamate, one is reminded of an opinion expressed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his life of Henry VIII., on the nature of alliances between neighbouring kingdoms. "Betwixt great estates adjacent to another, such jealousies arise, that they make peace sometimes, but never friendship. Their league and confederacies have in them the nature of harmonical accords, which jar in the second, but agree in the third interval."

In men who are "fit for treasons, stratagems, and broils," the passions and mental qualities we expect to find are ambition, vanity, malignity, restlessness, or recklessness of mind. Were these the character-

istics of T. A. Emmet? The question, with perfect safety to the memory of Emmet, might be put to any surviving political opponent of his of common honesty, who was acquainted with those times, and the men who were prominent actors in them. Emmet's ambition was to see his country well governed, and its people treated like human beings, destined and capacitated for the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom. For himself he sought no pre-eminence, no popular applause; he shrunk from observation where his merits, in spite of his retiring habits, forced themselves into notice. No man could say that Emmet was ambitious.

Emmet's vanity was of a peculiar kind; he was vain of nothing but his name; it was associated with the brightest of the bye-gone hopes of Irish genius, and with the fairest promises of the revival of the latter in the dawning powers of a singularly gifted brother. No man could say with truth that vanity or selfishness was the mental infirmity of Emmet.

No malignant act was ever imputed to him. The natural kindness of his disposition was manifested in his looks, in his tone of voice; those who came in contact with him felt that his benignity of disposition, his purity of heart and mind were such, "and the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a man." Malignity and Emmet were as dissimilar in nature as in name.

A restless mind was not the mind of Emmet; the calm, tranquillizing influence of philosophy had given its serenity to his intellectual organization. The repose, if one may so speak of his character, was

apparent in the composure of his demeanour, and the quietude of his deportment; no man could say of Emmet, as Gregory of Nazianzen did of Julian, his fellow-student, "that he prognosticated evil of him from the restlessness of his regard, the wandering of his eyes, and the unsteadiness of his nature."*

Recklessness of mind was the last defect that any seeming friend or associate of his, who had become his enemy, would think of laying to his account. He looked before and after every plan or project that was proposed to him; he differed with some of his associates with respect to the resolution of hazarding a rising of the people without the aid they expected, and had applied for; he strenuously and conscientiously opposed, (whether fortunately or otherwise for the interests of his cause, is not now the question,) the unassisted attempt being made, and eventually the difference of opinion led to entire estrangement between him and another of his associates, who had been a member of the directory at an earlier period, and one of its most energetic, able, and influential members. No good can arise from entering into a detailed account of this disagreement, but it may not be amiss to add that documents of Emmet's are in the possession of the author, which leave not the shadow of a doubt of the purity of Emmet's motives, of the uprightness of his conduct towards his cause and his companions, and, if the necessity should arise for their publication, the author undertakes they shall be forthcoming.

The charge of recklessness of conduct is one that

* Gregory of Nazianzen, orat. iv. in Julian, p. 122.

never has been brought against Emmet. Then, under what circumstances, or impelled by what motive, did such a person become a rebel? A man of a moderate independence, of rising prospects, devoted to his family—his chief happiness in its circle, of domestic habits, of irreproachable character,—who had "given hostages to fortune," and had a father's interest in the preservation of peace and quiet; who had a stake in the soil, and being connected with it by other ties besides—those of love, was necessarily opposed to measures which perilled property and the privileges of its owners. If the reader would know the cause, he will find it in every page of Irish history that is devoted to the illustration of this period of it, and it may be comprised in a single sentence: "The cruel policy of ruling the country by means of the disunion of the inhabitants, and the abandonment of the power and functions of Government to a faction, whose interests and passions were arrayed in deadly hostility against the great body of the people."

CHAPTER IV.

In the winter of 1790, Tone instituted "a kind of political club," consisting of Drennan, Stokes, Pollock, Johnson, Burrowes, Stack, and Russell. Any two of the men present would have been the delight and entertainment of a well-chosen society; but all altogether was, as Wolsey says, "too much honour." Tone adds: "In recording the names of the members of the club, I find I have strangely omitted the name of a man whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; and of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. His opinions and mine square exactly."*

The first mention made of Emmet's taking any active part in politics is in Tone's Journal, where Emmet's introduction to the sub-committee of the

* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 40.

Roman Catholics, the 15th October, 1792, is recorded. Tone states, that he was well received by the members, and "richly deserved their admiration." "He was the best of all the friends to Catholic Emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton" (himself).* From this time Emmet, behind the scenes of Catholic agitation, continued to give his pen to their cause, and with his usual heedlessness of self, allowed others to take the merit of his services.

The grand juries throughout the country, in the spring and summer of 1792, had published resolutions expressive of their readiness to give "life and property" in defence of the principles of Protestant ascendency. These were replied to in the name of the sub-committee of the Catholics, and the writers of them were two Protestant barristers, Messrs. Tone and Emmet. "At work with Emmet on the reply to the grand juries, 23rd October."† The address of the sub-committee to the Dublin corporation, at the same period, was also written by Emmet: this paper, which Tone calls a most excellent one, met the unanimous approbation of a meeting of the parochial delegates.

Aggregate meetings of the Catholic body now became frequent, and every person of any note connected with them took a part in their proceedings. Emmet alone kept aloof—he rendered them all the assistance in his power; he devoted his fine talents to their service, but he made no public display, and

* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 196.

† Ibid, p. 197.

sought no public approbation for them. At this time he was not a member of the society of United Irishmen, but long before he joined it he was the person in every emergency consulted by its leaders. When Tone, in the spring of 1795, was about to quit the country for America, he and Russell had an interview with Emmet, at his country seat at Rathfarnham.

The particulars of this interview have been already given; it is sufficient to recall the nature of it, and the associations connected with it. The meeting took place in a little study, which Emmet was building at the bottom of the lawn. He said, "he would consecrate it to their meetings, if ever they lived to see their country emancipated."

The place where the conversation took place was a little triangular field. Emmet remarked, "that it was in one like it in Switzerland where William Tell and his associates planned the downfal of the tyranny of Austria."*

On Tone's departure from Dublin to embark at Belfast, Thomas Addis Emmet addressed the following letter to him:—

"My dear friend,—I have just this instant heard from Simon M'Guire that you leave town to-night. I can scarcely believe that you would entirely break yourself away from this country, and from me amongst the rest, without calling on me or even writing a line. You know, and I trust will always

* Tone's Life, vol. i. p. 125.

be convinced, that my friendship and affectionate regard for you is most undiminished. It is not of that nature to shake by adversity, which God knows how soon it may be my lot to undergo. Wherever you are you shall always command a steady friend in this country as long as I reside here. Write to me, at least, when you reach your destination, and as often as may suit your convenience. Perhaps your letters may be useful to me for regulating my future settlement in life. God bless you. Give my most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Tone,

" And believe me, sincerely," &c.*

The organization of the Union was intended to be a complete representative system. It underwent two important changes. In 1794 the Society having been forcibly dissolved, became a secret one the beginning of 1795. Its objects extended beyond reform and emancipation; and members, on admission, were required to take an oath.

In 1796, the military organization was engrafted on the civil. All officers, to the rank of colonel, were elected by the committees; those of a higher grade, by the executive; and with the concurrence of that body, the colonels had the nomination of an adjutant-general for each county. The commander-in-chief was nominated by the Leinster directory, and that officer was Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

A military committee was also appointed, in 1798, by the same body, to prepare plans and communicate

* T. W. Tone's Life, by his son, vol. i. p. 283.

with the various societies on military subjects. The Leinster directory estimated the total of the United Irishmen throughout the country at half a million; the effective strength that might be relied on to take the field, at three hundred thousand. Many of these details have been already given at some length; but it is desirable to recall them, to comprehend the grounds on which the leaders relied for accomplishing their objects. The Northern directory was first formed. Arthur O'Connor and Lord Edward Fitzgerald established the Leinster, and for some time were its only members. Bond, Macneven, M'Cormick, and Jackson, came in at a later period. Emmet, who had been a member of the Society from 1796, became one of the directory in 1797. He had been previously solicited to join it by O'Connor, and had declined; but, on O'Connor's arrest and imprisonment in the Tower, about the middle of 1797, when the interests of the Union were deprived of the services of its chief leader, he took his post.

O'Connor, immediately after his liberation, having been imprisoned for nearly six months, found it necessary to quit Ireland, and did not return till after the arrests of the leaders on the 12th of March, when he was brought back a prisoner after his trial at Maidstone; so that Emmet and he were not members of the directory at the same period. Each, however, had their circle of friends among the leaders; and in the directory the views of each were more or less influenced by them. And it is a matter of notoriety that needs no concealment, that the councils of that body were distracted and divided on the most im-

portant of all questions to their cause, namely, the question of risking an attempt on their own resources, or deferring that attempt till the assistance they had demanded had been given to them. In favour of the former proceedings, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and Henry Jackson, not once, or twice, but on several occasions, expressed their opinions strongly; while at various times, Emmet, M'Cormick, and Macneven as strenuously opposed them. M'Cormick foresaw the issue of this division in their councils; he fled the kingdom in the winter of 1797-8. It is an easy matter, after an event, to pronounce judgment on the views of those whose efforts were directed in different ways to the accomplishment of a given object. The application to France had been made by the directory before Emmet joined it. That application was determined on at a meeting called about the middle of 1796, in consequence of a letter received from Tone, who was then in Paris, stating that the French Government, on representations made to it, was favourably disposed towards the objects of the Society.*

On this intimation, an application for assistance was made to the Directory, and a positive assurance was given that it would be granted.

Tone had no specific authority from the directory to make the representation above mentioned, but his journals leave no doubt that the representation was made with the concurrence of persons not then prominent members of the directory; but, in point of

* Memoirs of Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven.

rank and influence among the popular party, the foremost men in the country. The garden scene described by Tone in 1795, can leave no doubt of Emmet's concurrence in the views on which Tone acted. The letter of "one of the chief Catholic leaders," made mention of in another part of the Journal, dated 3rd September, 1795, is less explicit than the former; but the matter alluded to requires no ghost from the grave to divine its meaning.

"A book has been published here, *On the best Mode for the Defence of Ireland.* The writer appears to be a scientific military man. The work is full of French idioms." * * *

"*Remember*, then, my dear Tone, the many hours we spent *in the garden*, in your favourite walk. That these conversations impress your mind, as they do mine, I can never doubt." * * * "Once more, Tone, remember and *execute* your garden conversation."*

That letter was quoted in the former series of this work. Since its publication a letter from the widow of Tone has gone the round of the public papers, stating that the writer of that letter was Mr. John Keogh, and not Mr. Emmet, as might have been supposed from the reference to a similar garden scene in a preceding account of the interviews with Emmet. The publication of that lady's letter removes any hesitation the author might have felt, in ascribing the production to a person whose name had been withheld in the published letter.

* Life of Tone, vol. i. p. 293.

There can be no longer any necessity for withholding the fact that Mr. Keogh, one of "the chief Catholic leaders," was a member of the Society of United Irishmen as well as his friend Richard M'Cormick, the Secretary of the Catholic Committee, and the gentleman who preceded him in that office, Theobald Wolfe Tone. We carefully discriminate between those who were fortunate enough to escape unscathed in the struggle, and those who went down to the grave branded with the name of traitors; but while these persons, who were partakers of their sentiments, associates in their cause but not sharers in their unhappy fate, who concurred in the projects, the execution of which brought ruin on the agents employed in carrying them into effect, are held entitled to the Spartan privilege, the memories of the others may claim more indulgent consideration on account of that protection than might be otherwise accorded to their errors.

Not many months before the flight of M'Cormick, John Keogh was called on to preside at a very important meeting of the United Irishmen of the higher class of Dublin leaders at a house on Usher's island; Keogh on taking the chair, called for a list of the members who were to attend. After some time, a gentleman, known to be an United Irishman, but whose name was not on the list, entered the room and took part in the proceedings. Keogh became uneasy; he beckoned to M'Cormick, and desired him to inquire why persons attended the meeting who had not been invited. The latter

made an inquiry, and brought back word that the gentleman was the friend of one of those who had been invited, and was a very trustworthy person. Keogh was not satisfied. Another gentleman was brought in under similar circumstances. Keogh then whispered to M'Cormick, in the hearing of an intimate acquaintance who sat next to the latter, "Dick, men's lives are not safe with fellows who would act in this manner." And in the course of a few minutes he pleaded an engagement and quitted the meeting, and from that time never attended at one, but continued known to the chief men of the Society as an attached friend to their cause.

The dependence on French assistance proved fatal to the Union. This was the opinion of T. A. Emmet communicated to his brother barrister, the distinguished Charles Glidden Haines, in 1812, (both attending the Supreme Court at Washington,) when an outline of his early career and the progress of the struggle he had embarked in was given to that gentleman. Mr. Emmet informed him that, independently of the effective force they counted on in their Society, a plan had been concerted to effect the important object of bringing a considerable number of British ships, chiefly manned by Irishmen, into their ports. From the opinions he expressed on this subject, Haines concluded that had Ireland never relied at all on France, her prospects of success might have been better; the French, however, having once promised, it was reasonable to place reliance on that promise, and, as it turned out, the reliance thus placed, embarrassed everything.

With respect to the conduct of Napoleon, throughout their various communications, Emmet pronounced him *the worst foe that Ireland ever had.* The nature of those communications is well deserving of attention, and a rapid sketch of former applications of a similar kind may not be uninteresting or uninstructive.

From the period of the armament afforded by Louis XIV. to James II., when 6,000 French troops landed at Kinsale, under the command of Count Lauzun, the 14th March, 1689, no hostile attempt had been made on the coast of Ireland until the 21st February, 1760, when Commodore Thurot arrived in the Bay of Carrickfergus on a marauding expedition, with three vessels of war, the Belle Isle, of 44, the Blonde, of 32, and Terpsichore, of 24 guns, and landed between 700 and 800 at Kilroot point, about two miles east of Carrickfergus. The castle of Carrickfergus was taken by the enemy, after a slight resistance; the total amount of its force consisting only of 138 persons under arms.

On the 22nd of February, Thurot despatched an officer with a flag of truce to Belfast, demanding a supply of provisions, to the amount of £1,500 sterling, for his troops, and menacing both Belfast and Carrickfergus with destruction if his application was refused. An answer was returned, that the application would be complied with. On the 23rd a part of the provisions were sent; and on the 25th, news having reached the French general that the troops were marching against him from Belfast, he re-embarked his men, and immediately set sail. On the

28th, the French squadron was attacked and captured off the Isle of Man by the Eolus, Pallas, and Brilliant frigates, under the command of Captain Elliot, and Thurot was killed in the action.

Thurot was a grandson of an Irish officer of the name of Farrell, who had served in the army of James II., and had fled to France with his master, where he died. He left an only son, who was brought up at Boulogne by his mother's family, under their name. He married at Boulogne, and his son (Mons. Thurot) at an early age went to England, and forming some connexion with a smuggler at Anglesea, he occasionally went in command of his vessels. From Anglesea he proceeded to Carlingford, and transacted the business of his employer there for about a year. He then went to Ireland, lived for two years in the service of Lord B——, subsequently in the service of Lord Antrim, and once more, after a short time, took to the old smuggling business.

From 1748 till 1752 he traded between London and Boulogne, and was at length arrested at the latter place, on a charge of smuggling. After suffering imprisonment at Boulogne and Dunkirk, he was sent to Paris, underwent an examination as to the best means of stopping contraband trade, was liberated, got the command of a sloop of war, and of the small squadron which was captured by Captain Elliot.*

The news of the landing of the French caused the gentry of the counties Antrim, Down, and Armagh, to enrol their tenants and dependants in volunteer

* Vide Annual Register, 1760.

corps, and these, to the number of 5,352, were provided with arms, and marched to Carrickfergus, within four days of the capture of that place by the enemy.

On this occasion, the tenants of Lord Charlemont, armed and clothed at their own expense, took the field, and the appearance of these armed peasants, on their march to Carrickfergus, his lordship says, "was singular and formidable." This was not the first enrolment of the northerns in volunteer companies. In 1745, when the news of the rebellion in Scotland reached Belfast, several independent companies were formed.

In the preceding occurrences may be traced the events which made the possibility of obtaining foreign aid familiar to the northern malcontents, and likewise the necessity of banding together the people in military associations, obvious to those whose loyalty was animated by a detestation of "Popery and arbitrary power." It had long been the custom to attribute every popular movement in Ireland to the influence of French politics. The author from whose excellent history of Carrickfergus the preceding account of Thurot's attempt is chiefly taken, (Samuel M'Skimmin,) labours under the old delusion. He maintains, that the Defenders were in open communication with the French, and had made overtures to the government of that country for the invasion of Ireland.

There can be no doubt that it was the object of France to keep alive the fear of invasion both in England and in Ireland, to exhaust, by all possible

means, the resources of the country, and to waste its energies in preparations for resisting invasions, which, with the exception of Conflans' meditated descent, for nearly 200 years prior to 1796, had no existence but in the minds of the enemies of the king's peace, and of his people in Ireland.*

M'Skimmin asserts that an early treasonable intercourse was kept up between Ireland and France, and that the Defenders had sought French aid. He likewise refers to a passage in the "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1792, page 1211, as affording proof that in November, 1792, a treasonable correspondence was opened with France by the political leaders of Belfast. On referring to the passage in question, it will be found that some of the Belfast societies had followed the example of the London Corresponding Society in sending congratulatory addresses to the National Assembly of France; but no communication with

* In 1536 foreign assistance was sought by Thomas Fitzgerald, then in rebellion, whose father, the Earl of Kildare, was at that time a prisoner in the Tower of London. The messenger employed was Dominick Power, of Waterford: his mission was to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, "to crave his aid to conquer Ireland. He presented him with twelve great hawks and fourteen fair hobbies, but the emperor informed him that he came too late, for that his father, the Lord Thomas, and five of his uncles, had been executed at London, the 3rd of February." The emperor subsequently sued Henry the Eighth to permit Power to return to his country. His pardon was granted, but Mr. Power prudently declined to return. The tender mercies of Henry the Eighth in regard to the father and five uncles of his friend Fitzgerald, seem to have made some impression on his mind. He remained on the Continent, and died at Lisbon.—*Smith's Hist. of Waterford*, p. 129.

France of the kind mentioned by M'Skimmin, is there any evidence of ever having taken place.

The address referred to, and the reply of the President of the National Assembly, will be found at page 191 of the former series of this work. Another authority on which he rests is that of Sir A. Musgrave, who states that "in 1791 and 1792 Rabaud de St. Etienne, the bosom friend of Brissot, the famous leader of the Girandist party in the French National Assembly, passed some time between Dublin and Belfast, sowing the seeds of future combustion."

In the autobiography of A. H. Rowan, it is certainly stated that about December, 1792, an offer was sent from the French Convention, directed "To the popular leaders in Ireland," that they would deposit in any Bank in Europe the pay of 40,000 men for six months, on the condition that they would declare an absolute independence of England; but the agent appears to have met with no encouragement. In Macneven's Pieces of Irish History, the same circumstance is also repeated, and its occurrence is dated "the summer of 1793."

In April, 1794, another emissary arrived in Dublin, and shortly after his arrival, was arrested. This gentleman, Dr. William Jackson, brought with him a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald; that his mission was unexpected, may be inferred from the fact, that Tone and others of the popular leaders at first were disposed to believe he was an agent of the British Government.

In a copy of Emmet's and Macneven's Pieces of Irish History, purchased at the sale of Hamilton

Rowan's library, the following manuscript note, in the handwriting of the latter, occurs at the bottom of the page where mention is made of Jackson's mission—"Lord Edward Fitzgerald declined to have any conversation with Jackson." Arthur O'Connor likewise states that he had no communication with him. Tone was informed of Jackson's arrival and the object of his mission, by Counsellor M'Nally, and by the latter was introduced to Jackson. The name of M'Nally does not appear in Tone's statement of the part he took in this business. He is designated in it as Mr. A.; subsequently Tone frequently met Jackson, and his faithful companion Cockayne, at M'Nally's house; but it is evident from an observation of Tone's, printed in italics, "*I did not then nor since ask A., how he became acquainted with the gentleman, nor do I yet know who introduced him,*" that he had some doubts of M'Nally's motives for the introduction.

M'Nally and Cockayne had been old acquaintances; their intimacy had commenced at the Inns of Court in England, when the former was keeping his terms there. Tone, notwithstanding his first suspicions, so far committed himself, as to draw up a statement of the condition of the country for Jackson; and Dr. Reynolds and Hamilton Rowan were likewise afforded the opportunities to be entrapped into his views. The Government having been duly apprized of these proceedings, Jackson was arrested, Tone expatriated himself, Rowan escaped from Newgate, and Reynolds fled out of the kingdom.

The first intimation which Tone received of the

discovery of his connexion with Jackson was communicated to him by a friend opposed to his political principles, but strongly attached to him; for no man appears ever to have had personal qualities more calculated to attach people to him.

Tone was spending the evening at the house of the father of a young friend of his in Merrion-square: he and his companion were playing duets. Tone was passionately fond of music; though a very indifferent performer, on his favourite instrument the flute. A servant brought a letter for Tone, with orders to deliver it into his own hand. Tone read the letter, and said to his companion, "Phil, we must finish this duet; I must go when it is done." He went away, and the following day the Hon. George Knox, the son of Lord Northland, called on their mutual friend at Merrion-square. Knox inquired if Tone had received a note he had forwarded to him, and which the servant, not finding him at home, had taken to his friend's house. On hearing it had reached Tone, Knox said, "Well, I suppose you will blame me: I have had a struggle between friendship to that man and the duty I owed to those I am connected with. (Knox then held some official situation.) I learned at the Castle that he was implicated in Jackson's treason, and that his life was in jeopardy, and I determined on apprizing him of his danger, and giving him timely notice to escape. "*I felt,*" said Knox, "*that politics were things of a day; but friendship was a matter that was for ever.*"

In the Report of the Commons' Secret Committee it is stated, "that previous to the summer of 1796 no

formal and authorized communication appears to have taken place between the Irish executive and the French government, though Jackson had been sent by the latter to Ireland in 1794."*

In the summer of 1796 Lord Edward Fitzgerald, accompanied by O'Connor, proceeded by Hamburgh to Switzerland, and had an interview with General Hoche, the object of their mission being to apply for assistance in men and arms from the French Directory. In the March of 1797 Lewins was sent to France as the accredited agent of the Irish Union. In June, 1797, a second agent, Dr. Macneven, was despatched with the necessary credentials to the French minister at Hamburgh, with increased earnestness, urging their application on the French government, and instructed to negotiate if possible a loan of half a million, or at least 300,000*l.* The force solicited was one not exceeding 10,000, nor less than 5000, with 40,000 stand of arms, and the assistance of such Irish officers as were then in the French service. The identical memorial presented by Macneven to the French minister, and a copy of which exists in the French foreign department, was shown by Lord Clare to Macneven on his examination before the Committee. It becomes a matter of curiosity to know something of the members of the Directory at that period, namely, in June, 1797. The inquiries, however, might perhaps be limited to the career and character of only one of them.†

* Report of the Secret Committee, 1798.

† The Marquis Barthelemy was born in 1750. He was appointed secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm, subsequently at the

When Tone, on his arrival in Paris, waited on Madgett, an old Irish emigrant, employed in the department of the minister for Foreign Affairs, he was informed by Madgett that an Irishman of the name of Duckett had delivered in several memorials on the state of Ireland.*

Some inquiries were made of him by the secretary about one Fitzsimons, a priest, whom it was in contemplation to send to Ireland, but who had been in France for twenty or thirty years. Another inquiry

court of St. James', and for a short time chargé d'affaires. He was again sent to London to announce the acceptation of the constitution by Louis the Sixteenth. He negotiated the peace with Prussia in 1795, and subsequently with Spain, and also with the Elector of Hesse. In April, 1796, he was appointed to negotiate for peace with Mr. Wickham, and was unsuccessful. In June, 1797, he was elected a member of the Directory, was arrested the same year, and was transported to Cayenne, escaped six months afterwards to the United States, and from that country proceeded to England. The Directory placed him on the prescribed list of emigrants. After the revolution of the 18th Brumare he returned to France, and was named vice-president of the senate, "conservateur," and count of the empire; in 1814 president of the senate, and filled this office when the "decheance" of Napoleon and his family was proclaimed in the senate. On the restoration of Louis the Eighteenth promoted to the rank of grand officer of the legion of honour, 4th of January, 1815. During the 100 days, he was left in retirement. On the return of Louis the Eighteenth he was created marquis. In 1819 he proposed a memorial to the king to restrict the franchise, on account of the too great extension of it by the article of the charte, which gave that privilege to every citizen paying 300 francs of direct taxes. His proposal was rejected as an anti-national one, and the year following it was carried by the ministry. In 1825 he was still living.—*Biographie des Contemporains*, tome i. p. 257.

* Tone's Life, vol. ii. p. 33.

made of Tone is deserving of notice. Hoche asked him, "whether Defenders had ever sent any one to France to make representations?" He answered, "he could not positively say, but he believed not, they being for the most part the peasantry of Ireland, and of course not having the means, nor proper persons to send."*

Teeling denies that there was ever any communication between the Defenders and the French. In Emmet's Essay towards the History of Ireland, we find it stated, "The Defenders likewise, in 1794, began to entertain an idea that possibly the French might visit Ireland, and that from thence benefits would result to them and their country; for in some places it was made a part of the oath, and in others well understood, that they should join the French in case of an invasion. There is not, however, any reason to believe that this expectation arose from any communication with France, but only from the strength and ardency of their own wishes."†

One of the northern informers, and the earliest of them, Maguan of Saintfield, in his depositions states, that an active communication was kept up between the United Irishmen in the north of Ireland and the French government. He frequently refers to the northern deputies in France, and to one of them drawing for large sums of money on the northern leaders. The latter we know to be Tone, from the letters published in his memoirs, informing one of the

* Tone's Life, vol. ii. p. 167.

† Pieces of Irish History, p. 71.

northern leaders of having drawn upon him. The persons, called delegates, Maguan speaks of, as persons specially sent to France in the character of agents or envoys, were mere fugitives from Ireland, members of the United Irish Society, but in no wise competent or authorized to enter into negotiations with the French government on the part of the Ulster leaders, and independently of the Leinster directory. And it is well to bear in mind that, where Maguan speaks of the executive and national committee, the Leinster directory of Dublin is referred to. That some of the northern fugitives, who were in Paris in 1797, had communications with members of the French government, there is reason to believe; but such persons acted in their individual capacity, and on their own views. Amongst such persons we find Tone.

Maguan, in his informations, states, that it was announced at a provincial meeting at Randalstown, 14th August, 1797:—"A few spirited men in Belfast now seeing the business frustrated (by the dissensions of the executive and national committee), subscribed five hundred guineas to send a person to France, but not knowing what road to take to send him, or how to get him introduced to the Directory, they applied to a member of the old executive, and found the very person they had elected was sent ten days before by the executive."*

At another meeting on the 14th September, the return was announced from France of one of their

* *Vide* Report of the Lords' Secret Committee, Appendix xiv. p. 103.

delegates, and the news of the other delegates in France being appointed to accompany the expedition.

On the 14th October, it was announced that one of their delegates in France had drawn a bill on the executive for 160*l.* February 1st, 1798, the Priest Quigley, then in Belfast, formerly of the county of Louth, was announced as "one of the delegates who had lately returned from France." February 27, 1798, at a provincial meeting at Armagh the return of a delegate from France announced, and that they had then fourteen delegates in France, and that the executive had answered a draft of 500*l.* of theirs to be raised off the four provinces equally.

CHAPTER V.

THE particulars of Tonè's mission are given in his own journals, with all the life and spirit for which even his most careless writings are remarkable; but they are mixed up with a mass of irrelevant matter that renders the subject referred to difficult to be kept before the mind in a connected or consecutive form. The facts are briefly these:—

February 15, 1796. Tone presented himself to the French minister of foreign affairs, Charles de la Croix, with a letter of introduction from the French minister in America. Tone plainly stated his views, described the condition of his country, and the nature of the assistance required of the French. The first proposition made by Madgett, one of the secretaries of the minister, on the part of his superiors was an intimation of a disposition to send 2,000 men, and arms for 20,000 men; Tone's opinion was that less than 5,000 would be of little service, and that 20,000, or at least 15,000, in the first instance would be desirable.

February 24. Tone had an interview with Carnot, "the organizer of victory," and stated to the latter the relative numbers of the Presbyterian and Ca-

tholic population of Ireland, the former at 900,000, the latter at 3,000,000. The total population, including Protestants, 4,500,000. Carnot evinced surprise at the statement. Spoke of Cork as an advantageous point for disembarkation. Tone recommended the northern coast, if the force was small, if large, nearer the capital. He stated that in the month of November the preceding year (1795), he had received letters from his friends in Ireland strongly urging his proceeding to France, with a view to obtaining assistance there. By Carnot's desire, he prepared a memoir of the political state of Ireland and strength of parties there.

February 26.—The foreign minister informed him that an Irish patriot named Duckett, exiled on account of certain writings under the signature of "Junius Redivivus," had delivered in several memoirs on the state of Ireland. That the Directory had determined on giving 30 pieces of cannon, 20,000 stand of arms, some money, but no mention was made of troops; the place of disembarkation near Belfast.

March 14.—Tone had an interview with General Clarke, who made inquiries as to the probability of co-operation from the Irish aristocracy; for example, of the "Earl of Ormond," if it would be possible to make something of Lord Fitzgibbon. He asked what the revolution would terminate in? Tone replied, "In a republic allied to France."

March 15.—Tone informed by Madgett that the Directory had determined to give 50,000 stand of arms, 672 artillery-men, and a demi-brigade of from 4 to 5,000 men. That the Prieur de la Marne

was in the secret, and recommended one Fitzsimon, a priest, (who had been twenty or thirty years out of Ireland,) to be sent over as an emissary of the French government.

March 19.—Tone was informed that the Directory would give an entire brigade, 8,000 men.

March 21.—Clarke spoke of having read over a variety of memorials on the subject of Irish affairs, which had been given in to the French government for forty years back; and that when the Volunteers were in force, it was proposed to the French Council to offer assistance to Ireland, but it was overruled by the interest of the Count de Vergennes, then Prime Minister, who received for that purpose a considerable bribe from the English government. Tone's commentary,—"I do not like this story of Vergennes, of the truth of which I do not doubt. How, if the devil should put it into any head here to serve us so this time? Pitt is as cunning as ——, and he has money enough, and we have nothing but assignats."

April 2.—Clarke wished Tone to give him a short plan *for a system of Chouanerie in Ireland*, particularly in Munster; for he "would tell him frankly that Government had a design, before anything more serious was attempted, *to turn in a parcel of renegadoes* (*or as he said, blackguards*) *into Ireland*, in order to distress and embarrass the Government there, and distract them in their motions." Tone answered, "*He was sorry to hear it*," &c. Clarke acknowledged "the objections raised by Tone were of considerable weight."

April 4.—Tone makes a memorandum of his objections to the proposed measure, resolved "to leave nothing undone to prevent the infinite mischief which he sees, in every point of view, resulting from introducing the spirit of Chouanerie into Ireland;" objects to Fitzsimon's appointment; observes on the folly of sending such an emissary, "What will Gog (John Keogh) think? Yes, Gog will open his heart very readily to Mr. Fitzsimons!"

April 10.—Aherne, a physician, who had been already employed in Scotland, appointed to go to Ireland, instead of Fitzsimons; a list of persons he is to see, given to him by Tone, Gog (J. Keogh), Magog (Richard M'Cormick), P. P. (Thomas Russell), R. S. (Robert Simms), S. Neilson, Oliver Bond, W. J. Macneven, with a query as to J. P., and T. A. Emmet.

April 20.—Aherne received a draft of his instructions from the minister for foreign affairs. In one of the articles it is stated, "*That if Ireland continues devoted to the house of Stuart, one of the family can be found who will be agreeable to all parties.*" Tone asks, "Who the devil is this pretender in petto?"

From *April* to *July*.—Various changes in the proposed measures for the invasion of Ireland.

July 12.—Tone introduced to General Hoche. His first inquiry, "Might he rely on five days' provisions, and particularly bread, on arrival in Ireland?" and next, "Could the Irish count upon being able to form a provisionary government, either of the Catholic committee, or of the chiefs of the Defenders?" He then asked, "Would 10,000 men induce the people to come forward?" He observed, with respect to the

force first proposed of 2,000, "they would be overwhelmed before any one could join them." He inquired next, "If the priests would give them any trouble?" To which Tone replied, "He certainly did not calculate on their assistance; but neither did he think they would be able to give any effectual opposition." He then inquired how the army would act. Tone spoke doubtfully on this point; but desired him "to count on their opposition." On one important point he desired to be satisfied, and that was, "What form of government they would adopt, in the event of success?" Tone answered, "Undoubtedly, a republic." His last query was, "Whether there was danger that the Catholics would set up one of their chiefs for king?" Tone replied, "Not the smallest."

July 13.—"Yesterday," says Tone, "I dined with Carnot (the President of the Executive Directory of France), and to-day I should be puzzled to raise a guinea."

July 18.—Clarke expressed some apprehensions that the Irish might choose a king; "*may be the Duke of York;*" or some one amongst themselves, "the Duke of Leinster for example," or one of their own leaders; who knew but it might be himself? (Tone.) Tone set his mind at rest on these points.

July 23.—Tone had an interview with Hoche. The latter spoke against the shedding of blood unnecessarily; said it was better to secure the persons of their enemies, or to suffer them to emigrate to England than to put them to death: adduced the mischief done to liberty in France by their sanguinary pro-

ceedings. "WHEN YOU GUILLOTINE A MAN," said Hoche, "YOU GET RID OF AN INDIVIDUAL, IT IS TRUE, BUT THEN YOU MAKE ALL HIS FRIENDS AND CONNEXIONS ENEMIES FOR EVER TO THE GOVERNMENT." He asked whether the Defenders had ever sent any one to France to make representations. Tone answered he could not positively say, but he believed not, they being for the most part the peasantry of Ireland, and of course not having the means nor proper persons to send.

September 17.—Tone left Paris to join the army of the west at Rennes, (after a residence in the French capital of seven months,) with the rank of general of brigade.

September 23.—Colonel Shee, a relation of Clarke's, spoke of Duckett as having represented himself as having been sent to France by the Catholic committee of nine as their plenipotentiary. Tone treats the assertion as that of an impostor; as "an outrageous lie."

October 13, 14.—"The general set off unexpectedly for Paris this day at 12 o'clock. *It seems on his visit to Brest, he had reason to be discontented with the administration of the marine;* however, they promised him fair, and he returned to Rennes, leaving orders with a confidential person to let him know how they were going on. This person has written him word that since his departure all the preparations are slackened, and in consequence he has set off in a rage for Paris, and I trust, will return in a few days with full powers to cashier a parcel of those scoundrelly agents of the marine." (Perhaps

if Tone had known what influence was then at work at Brest, he would have used another term for the principal functionary in that department.)

October 17.—An attempt was made to assassinate Hoche; coming out of the theatre he was fired at, received no injury, the assassin taken, confessed he was hired by a man for fifty louis to assassinate the general; the latter represented himself as a royalist, and told him he had come from Paris for the purpose of assassinating the general. The man who fired the pistol *was a workman in the arsenal.*

October 18.—On searching the lodging of Teyssiere (the man who instigated the other to this act,) a case of pistols, two fusils, and three air guns were found; there were also found among his papers the directions of several persons in Paris and London. "The general," adds Tone, "received notice a few days since from the minister of justice at Paris to be on his guard, as an attempt was intended to be made on his life by some English agents."

October 19.—Tone appointed to the rank of adjutant-general.

November 7. Mr. Sheehy, an officer in the French service, was dispatched to Ireland for information of the state of the country at that time, but not permitted to communicate to the leaders in Ireland the news of the preparation of the expedition for the invasion of Ireland. He was directed by Tone to communicate only with Bond and Richard M'Cormick.

November 14 *to* 18.—Tone says, "Villaret Joyeuse, the admiral, is cashiered, and we have got another in

his place." "Joyeuse was giving, underhand, all possible impediment to our expedition." In 1792, when this officer was promoted to the rank of captain, he was known to be inimical to the new order of things, but continued to serve under the republican government. He commanded under the Admiral Morard de Galles, who was superseded the year following, and Joyeuse was then made vice-admiral, on which occasion St. Andre, a member of the Committee of Public Safety, said, "I know that Villaret is nothing but an aristocrat, but he is brave, and will do his duty." The miserable policy of conciliating public enemies by conferring official favours on them, was amply demonstrated in France. Villaret did not do his duty; he sacrificed it to his own political predilections. After Hoche's serious complaints against him, Villaret tendered his resignation, he being charged with the marine preparations for the expedition. In his communications to his Government, he predicted the failure of the expedition; he appears to have been one of Sir Jonah Barrington's order of prophets, who leave no means unattempted to fulfil their own predictions. In Sept, 1797, his name was placed by the Directory on the list of banished persons, but he was allowed to go into voluntary exile. In 1801, he was recalled by Buonaparte, and placed in command of a new expedition destined against St. Domingo. He was subsequently appointed governor-general of Martinique, and in 1809, when that island was attacked by an English force, he capitulated on easy terms. His bravery was not called in question, but his conduct was blamed by a court of inquiry. He remained

unemployed till 1811, when he was named governor-general of Venice, and died there the year following.*

November 27 to 29.—"If any thing happened, Hoche," Tone observes, "there is an end of our business; when they attempted to assassinate him at Rennes, they might well execute it in a bye-road." "*There is a charming little aristocrat with whom he is perfectly well, although all her relations are chouans.* In all the hurry of an expedition he contrived to steal off, and spend two days and two nights with her." "Hoche has all the right in the world to do what he likes with his own life, but not to knock our expedition on the head."

November 30.—Tone dined with the new Admiral Morard de Galles, who had succeeded Villaret. Tone forms the best opinion both of his zeal and talents.†

December 7.—Tone embarked on board the *Indomptable* of eighty guns. The expedition consisted of fifteen sail of the line, ten frigates, and seven or eight transports—upwards of thirty sail.

December 8.—One of the admirals, Bruix, procrastinating unaccountably the departure of the expedition, Bruix being charged with the execution of the naval preparations, was called on by Hoche; the excuse made for the delay was, that some of the charts required to be washed in water colours, which

* Biographie des Contemporains, tome iv. p. 1521.

† He served with honour in many engagements in the East and West Indies; was made Rear-Admiral in July, 1792; was superseded in the command at Brest in 1793. In the latter part of December, 1796, appointed to the command of the squadron destined for Ireland.

would take two days. "*The General thinks the marine are trifling with him, on purpose to gain time, until the bad weather sets in.*"

December 12.—"By what I see," says Tone, "we have a little army of commissaries, who are going to Ireland to make their fortunes. If we arrive safe I think I will keep my eye on those gentlemen." Augmentation of the troops, total number being now 15,000. The squadron increased to forty-three sail.

December 16.—The expedition finally quitted the harbour, and the same night passed through the Raz, a difficult and dangerous navigation. Next day, to Tone's great mortification, saw only eighteen sail in company instead of forty-three—two of the admirals and the general with the absent. Admiral Bouvet and General Grouchy, second in command, are with the eighteen sail in company. The General Hoche, the Admiral Morard de Galles, and General Debelle are aboard the *Fraternité*, and no one knows what is become of them.

December 21.—Tone says, "We opened Bantry Bay, and in all my life rage never entered so deeply into my heart as when we turned our back on the coast. I sounded Cherin as to what Grouchy might do, *but he turned the discourse;* he is 'taata enos.' The instructions to the commanders were, in the event of dispersion, to cruise five days in the offing, but there were then only eight sail absent." (When they stood in in the morning there were forty-three sail in company. The wind was propitious, and nothing but Grouchy's will was wanting to effect a successful landing.)

December 22.—Stood in again for Bantry Bay; "the fleet terribly scattered." No news of the *Fraternité*. The first instance, Tone thinks, "of an admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet." The wind in the afternoon right ahead; the fleet dispersed, several to leeward. Tone examined the schedule of arms and ammunition, find they have 41,160 stand of arms, 29 pieces of artillery, 61,200 barrels of powder, and 7,000,000 musket cartridges.

December 23.—At anchor off Beer Island, about four leagues from the intended place of disembarkation. Heavy gale; the wind still right ahead; sixteen sail now only in sight; they had now been three days in Bantry Bay.

December 24.—Tone, accompanied by two officers of distinction, deputed by the whole of the état major to expostulate with Grouchy, and urge immediate disembarkation. *Grouchy entered into their views the moment their opinion was given,* "like a man of spirit," Tone says. (Perhaps if future events had cast their shadows before his mind, he might have said, like a man of adroitness in such emergencies.) The troops on board amounted now to 6,500 strong, and the order of battle was begun to be set about preparing by Grouchy. Preparations were at last made for disembarkation. One hour and a half of fair wind would have sufficed to effect their object.

December 25.—"The wind continues right ahead," not able to work up the vessels. We are now five days in Bantry Bay. The admiral's ship, at half-past six p.m., ran under the quarter of the *Indomptable*, and gave orders to cut their cable, and put to sea

directly. " It seemed," to Tone, " utterly incredible that an admiral should cut and run in this manner, without any previous signal of any kind to warn the fleet;" and the captain of the *Indomptable* disobeyed the order, and rode at anchor till morning.

December 27.—Council of war: present, Generals Cherin, Hardy, and Humbert; Adjutant-generals Tone, Simon, and Chasseloup; Captain Bedout of the *Indomptable*, and two artillery and engineer officers. Determination to give up the idea of landing at Bantry Bay; to proceed as high up as the Shannon, and cruise there five days. A violent storm came on that night, and frustrated their new project.

December 29.—The commodore made the signal to steer for France, and thus ended Tone's expectations, and the mighty preparations made for the proposed invasion.

January 22, 1797.—The *Indomptable*, in which Tone was embarked, with six sail, got back to Brest without having seen a single vessel of war, either going or coming back. Hoche and his companions in the *Fraternité* were fortunate to get back to France, after a series of disasters; " at one time they were 24 hours unnoticed in the very middle of the English fleet."

June 14, 1797.—Tone found Lewines at the Texel, who had been sent over by the executive committee of the United Irishmen, to solicit assistance in troops, arms, and money. His instructions were to apply to France, Holland, and Spain. He had been at Hamburgh two months. Hoche communicated to Lewines the assurance of the Directory, " that they would make no peace with England wherein the interests of Ireland should not be fully discussed, agreeably to

the wishes of the country." At this juncture, as on the former occasion, when preparations were set on foot for sending an expedition to Ireland, a British negotiator was sent over to treat of peace. The season was fine, and the long winter nights were less favourable to the projected invasion.

From *June* to *December*, preparations were making for the Dutch expedition at the Texel.

December 1 to 17.—Lewines was established in Paris as the accredited agent of the United Irishmen; was in communication with Dessaix, Talleyrand, and the leading members of government, soliciting succours in men and money.

December 18.—Lewines and Tone were introduced by Dessaix to Buonaparte, "who seems convinced our population is not more than two millions."

From December, 1797, to September, 1798, Tone and Lewines made many and unsuccessful attempts to procure assistance from the French government. But with the expulsion of Carnot from the Directory, the death of Hoche, (in September, 1797, at the age of 29, some said of consumption, others of poison,) and the ascendancy of Buonaparte's star, every chance of effectual assistance was lost. Grouchy and Villaret, in their different capacities, contributed to the frustration of the objects of the Brest expedition. The elements conspired against the second, fitted out at the Texel, and the same unsubsidized allies of Great Britain were again faithful to her interests in the last attempt of this kind in September, 1798. On the death of Hoche, the 15th of September, 1797, Buonaparte succeeded to the chief command, and the pre-

parations for the new expedition that Hoche had left in a state of forwardness, received little encouragement from his successor. He attributed at St. Helena to his own ignorance of the resources and population of Ireland, not only the failure of that expedition, but his own downfal. Buonaparte, moreover, was jealous of Hoche, and disposed to thwart any measure of his calculated to enhance his reputation. "But Hoche was an ardent and sincere republican; he could sacrifice his own hopes and prospects to the cause of liberty, as he nobly proved when he resigned to Dandaels the command of the Texel expedition." Young Tone has truly observed, "That to the enterprise against Ireland, the favourite object of Hoche, and to prosecute which Buonaparte was ostensibly recalled, the latter felt a secret but strong repugnance." The fact is, he was a hater of republicanism, and the liberation of Ireland would have given strength to its principles in France. His policy was to foment commotion in Ireland, for the purpose of creating "a diversion;" and on his proceeding to Egypt, Tone states that it was said he had asked the Directory, "What more did they desire from the Irish?"

Buonaparte set out for Egypt on the 20th of May, 1798; and in the beginning of July, when the rebellion in Ireland was crushed, the Directory sent to Tone to assist in the organization of a new expedition. The middle of August, the general in command, Humbert, impatient of the delays he had experienced, levied a contribution on the merchants of Rochelle, "and embarked on board a few frigates

with 1000 men,* 1000 spare muskets, 1000 guineas, and a few pieces of artillery, and compelled the captains to set sail on the most desperate enterprise which is perhaps recorded in history. Three Irishmen accompanied him—Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, and Sullivan, nephew to Madgett."

September 20.—Another small expedition under General Hardy was got ready for sea, consisting of one sail of the line and eight frigates, and a force of 3000 men. In Hardy's squadron there were four Irishmen—T. W. Tone, Thomas Corbett, M'Guire, and W. Hamilton, the brother-in-law of Thomas Russell. A number of Irish refugees, with Napper Tandy at their head, had previously embarked on board a fast-sailing boat, and landed at Raghlen Island, on the north-west coast of Ireland, where they spread some proclamations, and hearing of Humbert's defeat, escaped to Norway. Hardy's expedition met with contrary winds, and after twenty days' cruise, four of the vessels arrived off Lough Swilly. In one of these the *Hoche*, 74, Tone was embarked.

October 11.—Sir John Borlase Warren, with six ships of the line and three frigates, appeared in the offing, and soon after bore down on the French squadron. Commodore Bompart, of the *Hoche*, gave orders to the frigates to make the best of their way through shallow water, out of the enemy's reach, while he prepared his ship for action. All the officers of the *Hoche*, foreseeing the certain issue of the

* Tone is mistaken in the number; 1100 men landed.

approaching contest, and the fate of a prisoner of Tone's country, supplicated him to get on board one of the fast-sailing frigates, the *Biche*, which ultimately escaped. This Tone resolutely declined to do. The *Hoche* was now set on by nearly the whole force of Admiral Warren. For six hours she maintained a desperate struggle, "sustaining the fire of the whole fleet, till all her scuppers flowed with blood, her wounded filled the cock-pit, and her shattered ribs yawned at each new stroke."* Her rudder being carried off, having five feet water in her hold, and lying a dismantled wreck on the water, she struck her colours. Tone had commanded one of the batteries during the action, and he fought with the desperation of a man who had set his "life upon a cast," and was prepared "to stand the hazard of a die." He was taken, recognized by an old friend, Sir George Hill, basely betrayed by him, fettered by the orders of Lord Cavan, conveyed to Dublin, tried by court-martial, and convicted. He anticipated the law; he died by his own hand, November 19, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The curse of Swift was upon this man; he was an Irishman; had he been a native of any other European country, his noble qualities, his brilliant talents, would have raised him to the first honours in the state, and to the highest place in the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

With respect to the Mr. Duckett who represented himself to the French government as an emissary of the Roman Catholic "Committee of Nine," a few

* Tone's Life, by his Son. Wash. Ed. Vol. ii. p. 524.

words remain to be said. We find throughout Tone's communications with the French government, that this man was continually crossing his path; on one occasion, in the ante-room of the minister, presenting Tone, who was then passing for a Frenchman, with an English newspaper, and endeavouring to get into conversation with him; on several other occasions succeeding in getting information from the secretaries and other functionaries, which ought not to have been communicated to such a person. Tone evidently distrusted him, and knew that he had no connexion with the Catholic committee, or any other body in Ireland; and yet we find this man in the fulfilment of some duty imposed on him, putting forward an application very similar to that which had been made by Tone, evidently with the view of ascertaining the reception his application was likely to meet with. When Tone and Hoche arrived at Brest, at the time of the completion of the preparations for the departure of the expedition, Mr. Duckett was there before them. Tone insisted on his being sent back to Paris, Hoche thought it sufficient to determine on preventing him from taking part in the expedition.

Tone had prudently deferred getting the proclamations intended for distribution in Ireland printed, till he arrived at Brest. A day or two before the expedition sailed, he put the manuscript proclamation into the hands of a respectable printer. In the course of the day the printer called on Tone, and said that a gentleman with a foreign accent had called on him, and requested to see a copy of the proclamation which the *French* officer had left with him.

That, on declining to produce it, the stranger had offered him a large sum of money, increased his offer, and finally raised it to the sum of 500 louis. That it occurred to him, the best course he could pursue was to tell the stranger the manuscript had been cut up into slips, and given to the compositors, but that if he returned in two hours he should have a printed copy.

Tone told him to let the gentleman have it, but there were a few slight corrections which he wished to make in some copies of the proclamation, and referring to the original draught, he told the printer that the word "Ireland" occurred three or four times,—the word "Irish" two or three times; it would be necessary to change these words, and substitute those of "Portugal" and the "Portuguese." "The proclamation, thus amended, was given to the strange gentleman," and in a few hours Sir John Colpoys' fleet, then stationed off Brest, watching the movements of the expedition, sailed up the Channel, and touching at Spithead, received intelligence which induced him to return to his former station. This information was communicated by Tone to the Irish directory immediately previous to his departure. A more extraordinary instance of presence of mind is not on record, or a movement that has hitherto appeared more unaccountable than that of Colpoys in quitting his station, at such a juncture, and thus allowing the Brest expedition to proceed to the coast of Ireland without molestation.

An officer (whose signature, W. C., is appended to the notes from which the following extracts are

taken), who was closely connected with the Irish Government, and had been sent down to Bantry Bay on the first intelligence of the arrival of the French, thus refers to the subject of Colpoys' departure from his cruising station, and, in ignorance of the real facts, attempts to account for it: "Sir John Colpoys had been stationed for several weeks off Brest to watch the French fleet, which had been long ready to sail full of troops *for either Lisbon or Ireland;* a gale of wind blew our fleet off its station. On returning to it, the French fleet had sailed. The great fault of our ministry was, that under this circumstance, which surely might have been expected, our Admiral had no orders what to do, though common sense might have pointed out Ireland as the most important object, and ought to have been first attended to; Colpoys therefore continued watching the empty harbour, in strict obedience to his orders, till the gale of the 25th drove him to Portsmouth, and one of his fleet, the *Powerful*, into Cove."

Thus we see Sir John Colpoys' quitting the Brest station ascribed to the elements, while, in point of fact, there is reason to believe, his departure was occasioned by the proclamation of Tone. "In the meantime," continues the officer just quoted, "circumstances equally unlucky attended the French fleet. The admiral and general, who were on board a swift sailing frigate, with a proper attention to their own security, in the event of falling in with the British squadron, bore away on leaving Brest *in the direction of Lisbon.* At ten at night they called all the captains on board their own vessel, made them set their watches

to the admiral's, and ordered them at night to change their course without signal, and sail for Bantry Bay. They did so, and all seem to have met except the frigate with the two commanders on board, *who, for some reason never yet known,* were certainly never in the Bay at all, and the troops having no orders how to act in this emergency did, like Colpoys, nothing at all, and got back better than they deserved." It is needless to say, that if the writer had been aware of the ruse practised on the spy employed to get the proclamation, he would have attached no blame to Colpoys' departure.

From the period of the departure from Brest, no more mention is made of Mr. Duckett. The United Irishmen in Paris know nothing more of his movements. The committee of nine had no knowledge of him at any time.

Tone asks, "Who the devil ever heard of Junius Redivivus?" The letters were thus signed on which Mr. Duckett relied as his credentials when he applied to the French Directory. It was not without some trouble the author was able to discover the letters signed Junius Redivivus.

They were published in the *Northern Star* in 1794. From one of these letters a few passages are quoted, to show the palpable imposition practised by the writer on the party whose principles he pretended to espouse.

It is a well ascertained fact, one that admits not of the slightest doubt, that Government employed writers to assume the advocacy of the views of the United Irishmen, to exaggerate opinions favourable

to liberty, and by this means to bring the principles of their opponents into contempt.

With this view the atrocious assassination journal, the *Union Star*, was suffered to proceed in its career with full impunity, and at a later period its editor was rewarded with a pension. With a similar view the letter, from which the following extracts are taken, there is great reason to believe was written. The writer begins by informing the people, "Their situation is new, and to new measures they must have recourse. Antiquity left them without line or rule whereby to guide or square their conduct." *

"Now the question is, whether the nation is to be sacrificed to the minister, or the minister to the nation?" *

"The charter of nations has wisely provided, that examples should be made of delinquents, in every rank and station, according to the nature of their crimes. Where this primary law is neglected, there liberty cannot exist. A nation is free when the minister is amenable to justice, and enslaved when punishment cannot reach him. Let public delinquents, then, be brought to public justice!" *

"Pointless are the slings of hirelings when aimed at him whose design is to heal the national wounds, to save the sinking wreck of a neglected ill-managed state, and to drag to public justice the ignorant and wicked pilot. I defend no other cause; I shall claim no other merit. I court no man's favour; I fear no man's resentment. ("Methinks the gentleman doth protest too much.") I shall conclude this letter with the imprecation pronounced in an ancient assembly:

'May the gods pursue that man to destruction, with all his race, who shall act, speak, or contrive anything against this state.'—JUNIUS REDIVIVUS."

It is only astonishing that a shrewd man like Neilson, the proprietor of the paper in which this communication was published, should not have seen through the shallow assumption of enthusiasm, and the overdoing of the violent character attempted by the writer of this wicked letter.

So here we find an agent, whom there is much reason to believe, was not employed by the Irish Government, but by the British minister, Mr. Pitt, inciting the people of Ireland to acts of murder and rebellion, and in a short time after soliciting the French Government to send men and arms to the people it was intended to goad into revolt.

This was about the same period that the Rev. William Jackson, an emissary of France, the secret of whose treasonable mission, on his arrival in London, was disclosed to Mr. Pitt, by his companion, Cockayne, was permitted to go over to Ireland, accompanied by the informer, for the express purpose of allowing him to proceed in his evil designs, and to involve the popular leaders in them.

CHAPTER VI.

THE reader, probably, will not complain of the foregoing details, though the event which they terminate in describing, is posterior to that portion of Emmet's history connected with the movements of the directory. The Government having allowed the plans of the United Irishmen to come to a sufficient degree of maturity for their purposes, availed themselves of the services of a man, whose very name sounds in one's ears like a calamity, *Reynolds the informer.*

The deputies were arrested on his information at Bond's, the 12th of March, 1798; Emmet, Macneven, Jackson, and Sweetman were taken the same day at their several abodes, brought to the Castle, examined there, and committed to Newgate.

Against Emmet there was no specific charge; no overt act of treason brought against him. From the time of O'Connor's arrest, he was looked upon as the prime mover in the conspiracy, the head-piece of the Union, and in that opinion there was no mistake. There were twenty of the leaders, men of the Union, from various parts of the country, particularly from the north, then confined in Newgate.

The wife of Emmet at that period had an opportunity afforded of displaying that heroic devotion to her husband which she was destined to be called on to exhibit for upwards of four years in the several prisons he was immured in. Soon after his confinement she obtained permission to visit him. The cell in which he was confined was about twelve feet square. She managed to secrete herself in this wretched abode for some days, one of the turnkeys who had charge of Emmet's cell being privy to her concealment. Her husband shared his scanty allowance with her; and there a lady, bred in the lap of luxury, accustomed to all the accommodations that are possessed by one in her sphere in life, used to all the comforts of a happy home, familiarised to the affectionate care and kind attentions of an amiable family, daily blessed with the smiling faces of her dear children,—"one who had slept with full content about her bed, and never waked but to a joyful morning," shared the dungeon of her husband; its gloom, its dreary walls, its narrow limits, its dismal aspect—things and subjects for contemplation which her imagination a few weeks before would have sickened at the thought of—were now endured as if they affected her not; her husband was there, and everything else in this world, except her fears for his safety and for separation from him, were forgotten; her acts said to him,

"Thou to me,
Art all things under heaven, all places thou."

The gaoler at length discovered that Mrs. Emmet was an inmate of her husband's cell. She was immediately ordered to quit the place; but to the astonish-

ment of the officers of the prison, who were not accustomed to have their orders disobeyed, she told them "*her mind was made up* to remain with her husband, and she would not leave the prison." The gaoler, whom Emmet speaks of as "a man of unfeeling and ruffianly deportment," stood *awe-stricken* before a feeble, helpless creature, whom he had only to order one of his myrmidons to tear from the arms of her husband, and his bidding would have been obeyed. The power of a brave-spirited woman seldom is put forth that it does not triumph; and when she exerts it on occasions of mighty moment to those who are dearer to her than life, it is difficult to understand how the display alone of the nobility of her nature seems to overcome the insolent security of brute force, the sense of superior strength, or the command of that of others.

The gaoler retired; and Emmet was given to understand that orders had been given to the man by his superiors not to employ force, but the first time that Mrs. Emmet left the prison she was not to be permitted to return. No such opportunity for her exclusion was afforded by that lady. She continued to share her husband's captivity for upwards of twelve months. But once in that time she left the prison, and then only to visit her sick child, when she appealed to the wife of the gaoler, "as the mother of a family," to take pity on her wretchedness, struggling, as she was, between her duty to her husband, and the yearnings of nature towards her sick child.

It cheers one to find that even such an appeal as this was not made in vain. At midnight this woman

conducted Mrs. Emmet through the apartments of the gaoler to the street. The following night, after remaining with her child at the house of Dr. Emmet during the day, she returned to the gaol, gained admittance by the same means, and was on the point of entering her husband's cell when one of the keepers discovered her, but too late to exclude her from the prison. From that time she availed herself no more of the same facility for leaving or entering the prison. During her absence the room had been visited by one of the keepers, not an unfrequent occurrence; the curtains had been drawn round the bed, some bundles of clothing placed under the coverlid, and the keeper was requested to tread lightly, as Mrs. Emmet was suffering from headache. Shortly after this occurrence Emmet and Macneven were removed to Kilmainham gaol, and Mrs. Emmet was allowed to accompany her husband.

These details are given from the account received by the author from those most intimately connected with the family in another country, as well as one still surviving in his own. In the month of July, 1798, the negotiations were entered into with the Government, of which the details have been given in the preceding volume. On the 10th of August, T. A. Emmet was examined before the secret committee of the House of Lords. A very small portion of this examination was given in the parliamentary report purporting to contain the examinations of the state prisoners. On their liberation from Fort George, Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven published in London a pamphlet containing the memoir of the

origin and progress of the union they had delivered to the Irish Government, and an account of their examinations in which the suppressed portions of their evidence were given.* The pamphlet is now rarely to be met with, and from it the following account of the examination of T. A. Emmet is taken, after having compared it with the original document in the possession of the son of one of the parties to the compact.

EXAMINATION.

Substance of Thomas Addis Emmet's Examination before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, on Friday, August 10, 1798.

Committee. Were you an United Irishman?

Emmet. My lords, I am one.

Com. Were you a member of the executive?

Emmet. I was of the executive from the month of January to the month of May, 1797, and afterwards from December, 1797, till I was arrested.

[I was then asked, as to the military organization, which I detailed. They then asked, when the returns included fire arms and ammunition.]

Emmet. After the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts had been passed, when the people were led to think on resistance, and after 4,000 persons had been driven from the county of Armagh by the Orangemen.

Com. Was not the name of Orangeman used to terrify the people into the United system?

Emmet. I do not know what groundless fears

* Memoirs of the Irish Union, &c. London: Robinson. 1802.

may have been propagated by ignorant people; but I am sure no unfair advantage was taken by the executive. The Orange principles were fairly discussed, as far as they were known, and we always found, that wherever it was attempted to establish a lodge, the United Irish increased very much.

Lord Dillon. Why, where was it endeavoured to introduce them, except in the north and the city of Dublin?

Emmet. My Lord, I cannot tell you all the places in which it was endeavoured, but I will name one, in the county of Roscommon, where, I am told, it made many United Irishmen.

Lord Dillon. Well, that was but very lately, and I endeavoured to resist it.

Com. When were the first communications with France?

Emmet. The first I heard of were after the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts had been carried; the first I knew of was after the French fleet had left Bantry Bay, and after it was manifest the effort for reform would not succeed; and permit me to add, on my oath, it was my intention to propose to, and from conversations I had with some of the executive directory, I am sure it would have been carried there, that if there had been any reasonable hope of reform being adopted, to send one more messenger to France, and he should have told them, the difference between the people and the Government was adjusted, and not to attempt a second invasion. [They then took me into detail through the whole of the negotiations and messages—stated that the

demand on our part was from five to ten thousand men, and 40,000 stand of arms, by the first agent; that the instructions to the second agent differed by requesting more arms in consequence of the disarming of the north, which had intervened, and that the French had promised we should be at perfect liberty to choose our own form of government. It was expressly stipulated with them that they should conduct themselves so.]

Lord Chancellor.—As they did in Holland?

Emmet.—As Rochambeau did in America, my lords.

They then entered on the subject of the separation.

Lord Chancellor.—How is it possible, Mr. Emmet? just look on the map, and tell me how you can suppose that Ireland could exist independent of England or France?

Emmet.—My lords, if I had any doubt on that subject, I should have never attempted to effect a separation; but I have given it as much consideration as my faculties would permit, and I have not a shadow of doubt, that if Ireland was once independent she might defy the combined efforts of France and England.

Archbishop of Cashel.—My God! her trade would be destroyed!

Emmet.—Pardon me, my lord; her trade would be infinitely increased: 150 years ago, when Ireland contained not more than one million and a half of men, and America was nothing, the connexion might be said to be necessary to Ireland; but now that she contains five millions, and America is the best market

in the world, and Ireland the best situated country in Europe to trade with that market, she has outgrown the connexion.

Lord Chancellor.—Yes; I remember talking to a gentleman of your acquaintance, and I believe one of your body and way of thinking, who told me that Ireland had nothing to complain of from England; but that she was strong enough to set up for herself.

Emmet.—I beg, my lords, that may not be considered as my opinion: I think Ireland has a great many things to complain of against England: I am sure she is strong enough to set up for herself; and give me leave to tell you, my lords, that if the government of this country be not regulated so as that the control may be wholly Irish, and that the commercial arrangements between the two countries be not put on the footing of perfect equality, the connexion cannot last.

Lord Chancellor.—What would you do for coals?

Emmet.—In every revolution, and in every war, the people must submit to some privations; but I must observe to your lordships, that there is a reciprocity between the buyer and seller, and that England would suffer as much as Ireland if we did not buy her coals. However, I will grant our fuel would become dearer for a time, but by paying a higher price we could have a full and sufficient abundance from our own coal mines, and from bogs, by means of our canals.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Why, twelve frigates would stop up all our ports.

Emmet.—My lord, you must have taken a very imperfect survey of the ports on the western coasts of

this kingdom, if you suppose that twelve frigates would block them up; and I must observe to you, that if Ireland was for three months separated from England, the latter would cease to be such a formidable naval power.

Lord Chancellor.—Well, I cannot conceive the separation could last twelve hours.

Emmet.—I declare it to God, I think that if Ireland were separated from England, she would be the happiest spot on the face of the globe.

At which they all seemed astonished.

Lord Chancellor.—But how could you rely on France that she would keep her promise of not interfering with your government?

Emmet.—My reliance, my lords, was more on Irish power than on French promises; for I was convinced that, though she could not easily set up the standard herself, yet, when it was once raised, a very powerful army would flock to it, which, organized under its own officers, would have no reason to dread 100,000 Frenchmen, and we only stipulated for a tenth part of that number.

Lord Kilwarden.—You seem averse to insurrection; I suppose it was because you thought it impolitic?

Emmet.—Unquestionably: for if I imagined an insurrection could have succeeded without a great waste of blood and time, I should have preferred it to invasion, as it would not have exposed us to the chance of contributions being required by a foreign force; but as I did not think so, and as I was certain an invasion would succeed speedily, and without much

struggle, I preferred it even at the hazard of that inconvenience, which we took every pains to prevent.

Lord Dillon.—Mr. Emmet, you have stated the views of the executive to be very liberal and very enlightened, and I believe yours were so; but let me ask you, whether it was not intended to cut off, in the beginning of the contest, the leaders of the opposition party by a summary mode, such as assassination? my reason for asking you is, John Sheares's proclamation, the most terrible paper that ever appeared in any country: it says, that "many of your tyrants have bled, and others must bleed," &c.

Emmet.—My lords, as to Mr. Sheares's proclamation, he was not of the executive when I was.

Lord Chancellor.—He was of the new executive.

Emmet.—I do not know he was of any executive, except from what your lordship says; but I believe he was joined with some others in framing a particular plan of insurrection for Dublin and its neighbourhood; neither do I know what value he annexed to those words in his proclamation: but I can answer, that while I was of the executive there was no such design, but the contrary, for we conceived when one of you lost your lives we lost a hostage. Our intention was to seize you all, and keep you as hostages for the conduct of England, and after the revolution was over, if you could not live under the new government, to send you out of the country. I will add one thing more, which, though it is not an answer to your question, you may have a curiosity to hear. In such a struggle, it was natural to expect confiscations; our

intention was, that every wife who had not instigated her husband to resistance should be provided for out of the property, notwithstanding confiscations, and every child who was too young to be his own master, or form his own opinion, was to have a child's portion. Your lordships will now judge how far we intended to be cruel.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, Mr. Emmet, what caused the late insurrection.

Emmet.—The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures, and the military executions, in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow.

Lord Chancellor.—Don't you think the arrests of the 12th of March caused it?

Emmet.—No, but I believe if it had not been for these arrests it would not have taken place; for the people, irritated by what they suffered, had been long pressing the executive to consent to an insurrection, but they had resisted or eluded it, and even determined to persevere in the same line; after these arrests, however, other persons came forward, who were irritated, and thought differently, who consented to let that partial insurrection take place.

Lord Chancellor.—Were all the executive arrested or put to flight by the arrests of the 12th of March?

Emmet.—Your lordships will excuse my answering to that question, as it would point out individuals.

Lord Chancellor.—Did you not think the Government very foolish to let you proceed so long as they did?

Emmet.—No, my lord, whatever I imputed to Government, I did not accuse them of folly. I knew

we were very attentively watched, but I thought they were right in letting us proceed. I have often said, laughing among ourselves, that if they did right they would pay us for conducting the revolution, conceiving, as I then did, and still do, that a revolution is inevitable, unless speedily prevented by very large measures of conciliation. It seemed to me an object with them that it should be conducted by moderate men, of good moral characters, liberal education, and some talents, rather than by intemperate men of bad characters, ignorant and foolish; and into the hands of one or other of those classes it undoubtedly will fall. I also imagined the members of Government might be sensible of the difference between the change of their situation being effected by a sudden and violent convulsion, or by the more gradual measures of a well conducted revolution, if it were effected suddenly by an insurrection; and I need not tell your lordships that had there been a general plan of acting, and the north had co-operated with Leinster, the last insurrection would have infallibly and rapidly succeeded; in such case you would be tumbled at once from your pinnacle; but if a revolution were gradually accomplished, you would have had time to accommodate and habituate yourselves to your new situation. For these reasons I imagined Government did not wish to irritate and push things forward.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray do you think Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform any objects with the common people?

Emmet.—As to Catholic emancipation, I do not think it matters a feather, or that the poor think of

it. As to parliamentary reform, I do not think the common people ever thought of it, until it was inculcated into them, that a reform would cause a removal of those grievances which they actually do feel. From that time I believe they have become very much attached to the measure.

Lord Chancellor.—And do you think that idea has been successfully inculcated into the common people?

Emmet.—It has not been my fortune to communicate much with them on that subject, so that I cannot undertake to say how far it has been successfully inculcated into them; but of this I am certain, that since the establishment of the United Irish system it has been inculcated into all the middling classes, and much more among the common people, than ever it was before.

Lord Chancellor.—And what grievances would such a reformed legislature remove?

Emmet.—In the first place it would cause a complete abolition of tithes; in the next, by giving the common people an increased value in the democracy, it would better their situation, and make them more respected by their superiors: the condition of the poor would be ameliorated; and what is perhaps of more consequence than all the rest, a system of national education would be established.

Lord Dillon.—The abolition of tithes would be a very good thing; but do not you think it would be more beneficial to the landlords than the tenants?

Archbishop of Cashel.—Ay, it is they would benefit by it.

Emmet.—My lords, I am ready to grant that if

tithes were now abolished, without a reform, there are landlords who would raise the rent on their tenants, when they were making new leases, the full value of the tithes, and, if they could, more: but if a reform succeeded the abolition of tithes, such a reformed legislature would very badly know, or very badly perform its duty, if it did not establish such a system of landed leases as would prevent landlords from doing so; and let me tell your lordships, that if a revolution ever takes place, a very different system of political economy will be established from what has hitherto prevailed here.

Lord Glentworth.—Then your intention was to destroy the church?

Emmet.—Pardon me, my lord, my intention never was to destroy the church. My wish decidedly was to overturn the Establishment.

Lord Dillon.—I understand you—and have it as it is in France?

Emmet.—As it is in many parts of America, my lords.

Lord Kilwarden.—Pray, Mr. Emmet, do you know of any communications with France since your arrest?

Emmet.—I do, my lord; Mr. Cooke told me of one.

Lord Kilwarden.—But do not you in any other way know whether communications are still going on between this country and France?

Emmet.—No, but I have no doubt that even after we shall have left this country, there will remain among the 500,000 and upwards which compose the Union, many persons of sufficient talents, enterprise, enthusiasm, and opportunity, who will continue the old, or

open a new communication with France, if it shall be necessary; and in looking over, in my own mind, the persons whom I know of most talents and enterprise, I cannot help suggesting to myself persons I think most likely to do so; but I must be excused pointing at them.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

N.B. I have only noted down such questions and answers as I imagine will not be inserted in the reports of the Secret Committee.

SECOND EXAMINATION.

The Examination of Thomas Addis Emmet, before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, August 14, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh mentioned that the minutes of my examination before the Lords had been transmitted to them, and that they only wanted to ask me a few questions in explanation of those minutes. The general turn of the examination was therefore the same as that before the Upper House; but I could observe much more manifestly this time than before, a design, out of my answers, to draw the conclusion, that nothing would content the people but such changes as would be a departure from what they chose to call the English constitution, and the English system; and therefore I presume they meant to infer, that the popular claims must be resisted at all hazards. The Speaker seemed to me to take the lead in conducting the investigation of this point.

Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Emmet, you said in your examination before the Lords, that the French had not made known the place where they intended landing; how, then, will you explain an address which we have here, stating that the French were shortly expected in Bantry Bay?

Emmet.—My lord, I know nothing at present of that address, but I suppose on farther inquiry it will be found to be some mistake, as I am positive they never mentioned Bantry Bay in any communication. I knew, on the contrary, Galway Bay was looked on as the probable place of their landing.

N.B. I find, upon inquiry, that address is without a date, and was written after the French had disappeared from Bantry Bay, and were generally expected to return.

Mr. Alexander.—I have here some resolutions (which he read, and which, among other things, spoke of the extent of the confiscations that would be made in the event of a revolution, and how they should be applied), do you know anything of them?

Emmet.—I have a recollection of having read them before; and if that recollection be right, they are resolutions that have been passed by an individual society at Belfast, and were seized at the arrests of Barrett, Burnside, and others.

Mr. Alexander.—They are the same.

Emmet.—Then I hope the Committee will draw no inference from them, as to the views of the executive or of the whole body. You know the North well, and that every man there turns his mind more

or less on speculative politics; but certainly the opinion of a few of the least informed among them cannot be considered as influencing the whole.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—Ay, but would you be able to make such people give up their own opinion to follow yours?

Emmet.—I am convinced we should; because I know we have done it before, on points where their opinions and wishes were very strong.

Mr. Alexander.—How did you hope to hold the people in order and good conduct when the reins of government were loosened?

Emmet.—By other equally powerful reins. It was for this purpose I considered the promoting of organization to be a moral duty. Having no doubt that a revolution would and will take place, unless prevented by removing the national grievances, I saw in the organization the only way of preventing its being such as would give the nation lasting causes of grief and shame. Whether there be organization or not, the revolution will take place; but if the people be classed and arranged for the purpose, the control which heads of their own appointment will have over them, by means of the different degrees of representation, and organs of communication, will, I hope, prevent them from committing those acts of outrage and cruelty which may be expected from a justly irritated, but ignorant and uncontrolled populace.

Mr. Alexander.—But do you think there were in the Union such organs of communication as had an influence over the lower orders, and were at the same

time fit to communicate and do business with persons of a better condition?

Emmet.—I am sure there were multitudes of extremely shrewd and sensible men, whose habits of living were with the lower orders, but who were perfectly well qualified for doing business with persons of any condition.

Speaker.—You say the number of United Irishmen is five hundred thousand—do you look upon them all as fighting men?

Emmet.—There are undoubtedly some old men and some young lads among them; but I am sure I speak within bounds when I say the number of fighting men in the Union cannot be less than three hundred thousand.

Speaker.—I understand, according to you, the views of the United Irish went to a republic, and separation from England, but that they would probably have compounded for a reform in Parliament. Am I not right, however, to understand that the object next their hearts was a separation and a republic?

Emmet.—Pardon me, the object next their hearts was a redress of their grievances; two modes of accomplishing that object presented themselves to their view; one was a reform by peaceable means, the other was a revolution and republic. I have no doubt that if they could flatter themselves that the object next their hearts would be accomplished peaceably, by a reform, they would prefer it infinitely to a revolution and republic, which must be

more bloody in their operation; but I am also convinced, when they saw they could not accomplish the object next their hearts, a redress of their grievances, by a reform, they determined in despair to procure it by a revolution, which I am persuaded is inevitable, unless a reform be granted.

Speaker.—You say that a revolution is inevitable unless a reform be granted; what would be the consequence of such a reform in redressing what you call the grievances of the people?

Emmet.—In the first place, I look to the abolition of tithes. I think such a reformed legislature would also produce an amelioration of the state of the poor, and a diminution of the rents of lands, would establish a system of national education, and would regulate the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, on the footing of perfect equality, and correct the bloody nature of your criminal code.

Speaker.—You speak of the abolition of tithes; do you include in that the destruction of the Establishment?

Emmet.—I have myself no doubt of the Establishment's being injurious, and I look to its destruction, but I cannot undertake to say how far the whole of that measure is contemplated by the body of the people, because I have frequently heard an acreable tax proposed as a substitute, which necessarily supposes the preservation of the Establishment.

Speaker.—Don't you think the Catholics peculiarly object to tithes?

Emmet.—They certainly have the best reason to

complain, but I rather think they object as tenants more than as Catholics, and in common with the rest of the tenantry of the kingdom; and if any other way of paying even a Protestant Establishment, which did not bear so sensibly on their industry, were to take place, I believe it would go a great way to content them, though, I confess, it would not content me; but I must add that I would (and I am sure so would many others who think of establishments like me) consent to give the present incumbents equivalent pensions.

Lord Castlereagh.—Don't you think the Catholics look to the accomplishing the destruction of the Establishment?

Emmet.—From the declaration they made in 1792, or 1793, I am sure they did not then; I cannot say how far their opinions may have altered since, but from many among them proposing a substitute for tithes, I am led to believe they are not yet gone so far.

Lord Castlereagh.—But don't you think they will look to its destruction?

Emmet.—I cannot pay so bad a compliment to the reasons which have convinced myself, as not to suppose they will convince others. As the human mind grows *philosophic*, it will, I think, wish for the destruction of all religious establishments, and therefore, in proportion as the Catholic mind becomes *philosophic*, it will of course entertain the same wishes—but I consider that as the result of its *philosophy*, and not of its religion.

Lord Castlereagh.—Don't you think the Catholics would wish to set up a Catholic Establishment, in lieu of the Protestant one?

Emmet.—Indeed I don't; even at the present day; perhaps some old priests, who have long groaned under the penal laws, might wish for a retribution to themselves, but I don't think the young priests would wish for it, and I am convinced the laity would not submit to it, and that the objections to it will be every day gaining strength.

Speaker.—You also mention that a reform would diminish the rents of lands; how do you think that would be done?

Emmet.—I am convinced rack rents can only take place in a country otherwise essentially oppressed; if the value of the people was raised in the state, their importance would induce the landlords to consult their interests, and therefore to better their condition. Thus I think it would take place, even without any law bearing upon the matter.

Mr. Alexander.—Mr. Emmet, you have gone circuit for many years; now have you not observed that the condition of the people has been gradually bettering?

Emmet.—Admitting that the face of the country has assumed a better appearance; if you attribute it to the operation of any laws you have passed, I must only declare my opinion, it is *post hoc sed non ex hoc.* As far as the situation of the lower orders may have been bettered in Ireland, it results from the increased knowledge, commerce, and intercourse of the different states of Europe with one another, and is enjoyed

in this country only in common with the rest of civilized Europe and America. I believe the lower orders in all those countries have been improved in their condition within these twenty years, but I doubt whether the poor of this kingdom have been bettered in a greater proportion than the poor in the despotic states of Germany.

Speaker.—You mention an improved system of national education; are there not as many schools in Ireland as in England?

Emmet.—I believe there are, and that there is in proportion as great a fund in Ireland as in England, if it were fairly applied; but there is this great difference, the schools are Protestant schools, which answer very well in England, but do little good among the Catholic peasantry of Ireland.—Another thing to be considered is, that stronger measures are immediately necessary for educating the Irish people than are necessary in England: in the latter country no steps were taken to counteract the progress of knowledge; it had fair play, and was gradually advancing; but in Ireland you have brutalized the vulgar mind, by long continued operation of the Popery laws, which, though they are repealed, have left an effect that will not cease these fifty years. It is incumbent then on you to counteract that effect by measures which are not equally necessary in England.

Speaker.—You mentioned the criminal code; in what does that differ from the English?

Emmet.—It seems to me that it would be more advisable, in reviewing our criminal law, to compare the crime with the punishment, than the Irish code

with the English; there is, however, one difference that occurs to me on the instant, administering unlawful oaths is in Ireland punished with death.

Lord Castlereagh.—That is a law connected with the security of the state.

Emmet.—If it is intended to keep up the ferment of the public mind, such laws may be necessary; but if it be intended to allay that ferment, they are perfectly useless.

Speaker.—Would putting the commercial intercourse on the footing of equality satisfy the people?

Emmet.—I think that equality of situations would go nearer satisfying the people than any of the other equalities that have been alluded to.

Speaker.—Then your opinion is that we cannot avoid a revolution, unless we abandon the English constitution, and the English system in our establishment, education, and criminal laws?

Emmet.—I have already touched on the latter subjects; as to the English constitution, I cannot conceive how a reform in Parliament can be said to destroy that.

Speaker.—Why, in what does the representation differ in Ireland from that in England; are there not in England close boroughs, and is not the right of suffrage there confined to 40*s.* freeholders?

Emmet.—If I were an Englishman I should be discontented, and therefore cannot suppose that putting Ireland on a footing with England would content the people of this country; if, however, you have a mind to try a partial experiment, for the success of which I would not answer, you must con-

sider how many are the close boroughs and large towns which contribute to the appointment of 558, and diminish in the same proportion the number of the close boroughs and towns which contribute to the appointment of our 300; even that would be a gain to Ireland; but that there should be no mistake or confusion of terms, let us drop the equivocal words *English constitution*, and then I answer, I would not be understood to say, that the government of king, lords, and commons, would be destroyed by a reform of the lower house.

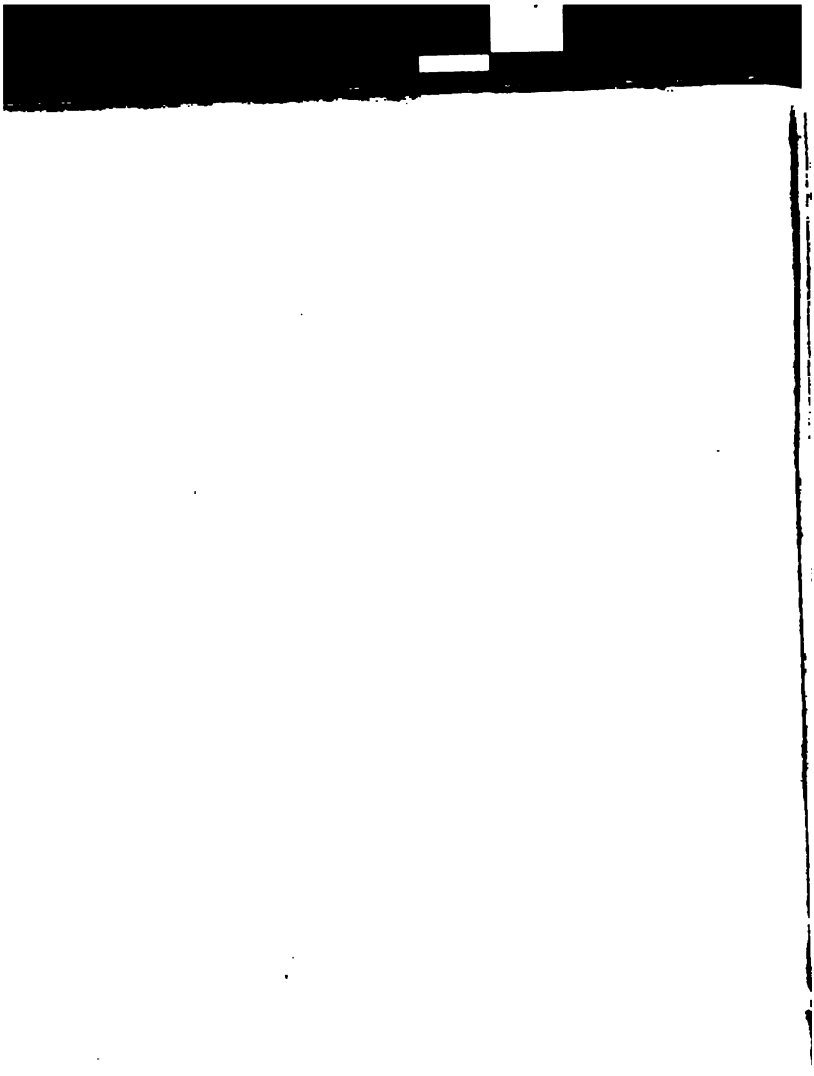
Lord Castlereagh.—And don't you think that such a house could not co-exist with the government of king and lords?

Emmet.—If it would' not, my lord, the eulogies that have been passed on the British constitution are very much misplaced; but I think they could all exist together, if the king and lords meant fairly by the people; if they should persist in designs hostile to the people, I do believe they would be overthrown.

[It was then intimated, that they had got into a theoretical discussion, and that what they wished to inquire into was facts.]

Sir J. Parnel.—Mr. Emmet, while you and the executive were philosophizing, Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arming and disciplining the people?

Emmet.—Lord Edward was a military man, and if he was doing so, he probably thought that was the way in which he could be most useful to his country; but I am sure, that if those with whom he acted were convinced that the grievances of the people were re-



UNIV. OF MICH.

From a Miniature by Horace Hone Copied from a portrait painted by him in 1796.

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From a Miniature by Horace Hone Copied from a portrait painted by him in 1796

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dressed, and that force was become unnecessary, he would have been persuaded to drop all arming and disciplining.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—I knew Lord Edward well, and always found him very obstinate.

Emmet.—I knew Lord Edward right well, and have done a great deal of business with him, and have always found, when he had a reliance on the integrity and talents of the person he acted with, he was one of the most persuadable men alive, but if he thought a man meant dishonestly or unfairly by him, he was as obstinate as a mule.

[Many questions were then put to me relative to different papers and proceedings of the United Irish; among the rest, John Sheare's proclamation was mentioned with considerable severity. I took that opportunity of declaring, that neither the execution of John Sheares, nor the obloquy that was endeavoured to be cast on his memory, should prevent my declaring that I considered John Sheares a very honourable and humane man.]

Mr. French.—Mr. Emmet, can you point out any way of inducing the people to give up their arms?

Emmet.—Redressing their grievances, and no other.

Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Emmet, we are unwillingly obliged to close this examination by the sitting of the House.

Emmet.—My lord, if it be the wish of the Committee, I will attend it any other time.

Lord Castlereagh.—If we want you, then we shall send for you.

After the regular examination was closed, I was asked by many of the members whether there were many persons of property in the Union. I answered that there was immense property in it. They acknowledged there was great personal property in it, but wished to know was there much landed property; I answered there was. They asked me, was it fee simple; to that I could give no answer. The Attorney General said there was in it many landlords who had large tracts of land, and felt *their* landlords to be great grievances. I admitted that to be the fact. They asked me had we provided any form of government. I told them we had a provisional government for the instant, which we retained in memory; but as to any permanent form of government, we thought that, and many other matters relating to the changes which would become necessary, were not proper objects for our discussion, but should be referred to a committee chosen by the people.

They did not ask me what the provisional govern ment was.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

CHAPTER VII.

In the pamphlet from which the preceding report of Emmet's examination is taken, no account is given of the compact with Government; but in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History," a statement of it is given by him at considerable length. The original draught of a paper on this subject, unpublished, drawn up chiefly by Emmet, exists in the handwriting of himself, Sweetman, and Macneven; and as it differs in the mode of treating the matter, as well as in style, and in some respects is more precise and simple in its details, it is inserted in this memoir of its principal author; and however fully the subject has been already gone into, the importance of it to the character of Emmet would alone be a sufficient reason for its insertion. The opponents of these men have had the full fling of their pens and tongues against the characters, private as well as public, of the men of 1798. In common fairness we are bound to hear what they have to say in their own defence, or at least the extenuation of their errors. The Musgraves, the Duigenans, the Reynoldses even, have had their hearing; justice demands one for them, and it is not for Englishmen to refuse it.

The account of the compact of the state prisoners with the Irish Government, taken from the original draught of that document in the handwriting of Thomas Addis Emmet, John Sweetman, and William James Macneven, was drawn up by them in France on their liberation from Fort George, and remained in the possession of John Sweetman. The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of Thomas A. Emmet:—"We, the undersigned, until this day state prisoners and in close custody, feel that the first purpose to which we should apply our liberty is to give to the world a short account of a transaction which has been grossly misrepresented and falsified, but respecting which we have been compelled to silence for nearly the last three years. The transaction alluded to is the agreement entered into by us and other state prisoners with the Irish Government at the close of the month of July, 1798; and we take this step without hesitation, because it can in nowise injure any of our friends and former fellow-prisoners, we being among the last victims of perfidy and breach of faith.

"From the event of the battles of Antrim and Ballinahinch early in June, it was manifest that the northern insurrection had failed of consolidating itself. The severe battle of Vinegar-hill, on the 21st of the same month, led to its termination in Leinster, and the capitulation of Ovid's town, on the 12th of July,* may be understood as the last public appear-

* The event preceding the massacre of the capitulated body of the United Irishmen on the Rath of the Curragh of Kildare, by the command of Major General Sir James Duff, executed chiefly by the

ance in the field of any body capable of serving as a rallying point. In short, the insurrection, for every useful purpose that could be expected from it, *was at an end;* but blood still continued to flow, courts martial, special commissions, and, above all, sanguinary Orangemen, now rendered doubly malevolent and revengeful from their recent terror, desolated the country, and devoted to death the most virtuous of our countrymen. These were lost to liberty while she was gaining nothing by the sacrifice.

"Such was the situation of affairs when the idea of entering into a compact with Government was conceived by one of the undersigned, and communicated to the rest of us conjointly with the other prisoners confined in the Dublin prisons, by the terms of which compact it was intended that as much might be saved, and as little given up as possible. It was the more urgently pressed upon our minds, and the more quickly matured, by the impending fate of two worthy men. Accordingly, on the 24th of July, the state prisoners began a negotiation with Government, and an agreement was finally concluded, by the persons named by their fellow-prisoners, at the castle of Dublin, and was finally ratified by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Cooke, three of the king's ministers. In no part of this paper were details, or perfect accuracy, deemed necessary, because the ministers, and particularly Lord Castlereagh, frequently and solemnly declared, that it should in every part be construed

yeomanry cavalry of Captain Bagot, and the *Fox-hunters' corps*, commanded by Lord Roden.

by Government with the utmost liberality and good faith; and particularly the last clause was worded in this loose manner, to comply with the express desire of the ministers, who insisted upon retaining to Government the entire popularity of the measure; but it was clearly and expressly understood, and positively engaged that every leading man not guilty of *deliberate* murder should be included in the agreement, who should choose to avail himself of it, in as full and ample a manner as the contracting parties themselves, and that there should be a general amnesty, with the same exceptions, for the body of the people.

"We entered into this agreement the more readily, because it appeared to us that by it the public cause lost nothing. We knew, from the different examinations of the state prisoners before the Privy Council, and from conversations with ministers, that Government was already in possession of all the important knowledge which they could obtain from us. From whence they derived their information was not entirely known to us; but it is now manifest that *Reynolds*, M'Ginn, and Hughes, not to speak of the minor informers, had put them in possession of every material fact respecting the internal state of the Union; and it was from particular circumstances well known to one of us, and entirely believed by the rest, that its external relations had been betrayed to the English Cabinet through the agency of a foreigner with whom we negotiated.

"This was even so little disguised, that on the preceding 12th of March, the contents of a memoir, which had been prepared by one of the undersigned

at Hamburgh and transmitted thence to Paris, were minutely detailed to him by Mr. Cooke. Nevertheless, those with whom we negotiated seemed extremely anxious for our communications. Their reasons for this anxiety may have been many, but two particularly suggested themselves to our minds; they obviously wished to give proof to the enemies of an Irish republic and of Irish independence of the facts with which they were themselves well acquainted, while, at the same time, they concealed from the world their real sources of intelligence. Nor do we believe we are uncharitable in attributing to them the hope and wish of rendering unpopular and suspected men, in whom the United Irishmen had been accustomed to place an almost unbounded confidence. The injurious consequences of Government succeeding in both these objects were merely personal; and as they were no more, though they were revolting and hateful to the last degree, we did not hesitate to devote ourselves that we might make terms for our country.

"What were these terms? That it should be rescued from civil and military execution; that a truce should be obtained for liberty, which she so much required. There was also another strongly impelling motive for entering into this agreement. If Government, on the one hand, was desirous of alarming its dependents by a display of the vigorous and well-concerted measures that were taken for subverting its authority and shaking off the English yoke, so we, on the other hand, were not less solicitous for the vindication of our cause in the eyes of the liberal, the enlightened, and patriotic. We perceived that in making a fair and candid development

of those measures we should be enabled boldly to avow and justify the cause of Irish union, as being founded upon the purest principles of benevolence, and as aiming only at the liberation of Ireland. We felt that we could rescue our brotherhood from those foul imputations which had industriously ascribed to it—the pursuit of the most unjust objects by means of the most flagitious crimes.

"If our country has not actually benefited to the extent of our wishes and of our stipulations, let it be remembered that this has not been owing to the *compact*, but to the *breach of the compact*, the gross and flagrant breach of it, both as to the letter and spirit, in violation of every principle of plighted faith and honour.

"Having been called upon to fulfil our part of the compact, a stop being put to all further trials and executions, a memoir was drawn up and signed by two of the undersigned, together with another of the body, (they being selected by Government for that purpose,) and was presented to Mr. Cooke on the 4th of August. It was very hastily prepared in a prison, and of course not so complete and accurate as it might otherwise have been; but sufficiently so to draw from Mr. Cooke an acknowledgment that it was a complete fulfilment of the agreement; though, he said, the Lord Lieutenant wished to have it so altered as not to be a justification of the United Irishmen, which, he said, it manifestly was.

"Upon the refusal to alter it, Government thought proper to suppress it altogether, and adopted a plan which they had already found convenient for promulgating *not the entire truth*, but so much of the truth

as accorded with their views, and whatever else they wished to have passed upon mankind under colour of authority for the truth. This was no other than examination before the Secret Committees of Parliament. By these Committees several of us were examined; and, to our astonishment, we soon after saw in the newspapers, and have since seen in printed reports of these Committees, misrepresented and garbled, and, as far as relates to some of us, very untrue and fallacious statements of our testimony, even, in some cases, the very reverse of what was given. That no suspicion may attach to this assertion from its vagueness, such of us as were examined will, without delay, state the precise substance of our evidence on that occasion.

"The Irish parliament thought fit, about the month of September in the same year, to pass an act to be founded expressly on this agreement. To the provisions of that law we do not think it worth while to allude, because their severity and injustice are lost in comparison with the enormous falsehood of its preamble. In answer to that we most distinctly and formally deny that any of us did ever publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, *acknowledge crimes, retract opinions,* or *implore pardon,* as is therein most falsely stated. A full and explicit declaration to this effect would have been made public at the time, had it not been prevented by a message from Lord Cornwallis, delivered to one of the subscribers, on the 12th of that month. Notwithstanding we had expressly stipulated at the time of the negotiation for the entire liberty of publication, in case we should

find our conduct or motives misrepresented, yet this perfidious and inhuman message threatened that such declaration would be considered as a breach of the agreement on our part, and in that case the executions in *general should go on as formerly.*

"Thus was the truth stifled at the time; and we believe firmly that to prevent its publication has been one of the principal reasons why, in violation of the most solemn engagements, we were kept in close custody ever since, and transported from our native country against our consent.

"We conceive that to ourselves, to our cause, and to our country, and to posterity, we owe this brief statement of facts, in which we have suppressed every thing that is not of a nature strictly vindicatory; because our object in this publication is not to criminate but to defend. As to their truth we positively aver them, each for himself, as far as they fall within his knowledge, and we firmly believe the others to be the truth, and nothing but the truth."

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of John Sweetman:—

"On the 12th of March, 1798, the deputies from several counties having met in Dublin, to deliberate upon some general measures for the Union, were arrested in a body at Mr. Bond's, as were also many other of its principal agents, and put into a state of solitary confinement. Some of those persons were examined by the privy council previous to their committal to prison; when it appeared beyond a possibility of doubt that the negotiations of the United Irishmen with France had been betrayed to

the British Government. On the 30th, the kingdom was officially declared in a state of rebellion, and put under martial law. A proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant had directed the military to use the most summary methods for repressing disturbances, and it was publicly notified by the commanders in some counties, that unless the people brought in their arms, in ten days from the period of publication, large bodies of troops would be quartered on them, who should be licensed to live at free quarters, and that other severities would be exercised to enforce acquiescence. In the latter end of May, the United armed men of the county Kildare felt themselves obliged to take the field, and hostilities commenced between them and the King's forces on the 24th. About this time the counties of Wexford and Wicklow were generally up, and those of Down, Derry, Antrim, Carlow, and Meath were preparing to rise. The appeal to arms in these counties was attended with various success on both sides, and the military were invested with further powers by a proclamation, issued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, directing the generals to punish all attacks upon the King's forces according to martial law, either by death or otherwise, as to them should seem expedient. For some time the people had the advantage in the field; but the defeat at New Ross on the 5th of June, at Antrim on the 7th, that of Arklow on the 9th, of Ballinahinch on the 12th, of Vinegar-hill on the 21st, and Kilconnell on the 26th, with the evacuation of Wexford, and some unsuccessful skirmishes which afterwards took place in the county of Wicklow, removed all

hope of maintaining the contest *for the present* with any probability of success. In the interim troops were arriving from England, and several regiments of English militia had volunteered their services for Ireland. About the end of June, a proclamation was issued, promising pardon and protection to all persons, except the leaders, who should return to their allegiance and deliver up their arms, which, it was said, had a very general effect. A large body of the Kildare men had already surrendered to General Dundas, and on the 21st of July another party, with its leaders, capitulated with General Wilford. The King's troops, by this time, were victorious in every quarter, and the park of artillery, which had been employed in the south, had returned to the capital.

" It was now upwards of two months since the war broke out, during which time no attempt had been made by the French to land a force upon the coast, nor was there any satisfactory account then received that such a design was in contemplation. The expedition of Buonaparte and the forces under his command were already ascertained to have some part of the Mediterranean for their object. No other diversion was made by the French to distract the British power during this period. Military tribunals composed of officers, who, in many instances, as it has been publicly admitted, had not exceeded the inconsiderate age of boyhood, were everywhere instituted, and a vast number of executions had been the consequence. The yeomen and soldiery, licensed to indulge their rancour and revenge, were committing those atrocious cruelties which unfor-

tunately distinguish the character of civil warfare. The shooting of innocent peasants at their work was occasionally resorted to by them as a species of recreation, a practice so inhuman that unless we had incontestible evidence of the fact we never should have given it the slightest credibility. During these transactions, a special commission, under an Act of Parliament, and passed for the occasion, was sitting in the capital, and the trials having commenced, it was declared from the bench that to be proved an United Irishman was sufficient to subject the party to the penalty of death, and that any member of a baronial or other committee was accountable for every act done by the body to which he respectively belonged in its collective capacity, whether it was done without his cognizance in his absence, or even at the extremity of the land. As it was openly avowed that convictions would be sought for only through the medium of informers, the Government used every influence to dignify the character of this wretched class of beings in the eyes of those who were selected to decide on the lives of the accused. And they so effectually succeeded as to secure implicit respect to whatever any of them chose to swear, from juries so appointed, so prepossessed. It was made a point by the first connexions of Government to flatter those wretches, and some peers of the realm were known to have hailed the arch apostate Reynolds with the title of 'Saviour of his country.'"

The following part of the statement is in the handwriting of William James Macneven.

"In the case of Mr. Bond, the jury, with an indecent

precipitation, returned a verdict of guilty on the 23rd of July, and on the 25th he was sentenced to die. Byrne was also ordered for execution. In this situation of our affairs a negotiation was opened with Government, and proceeded in through the medium of Mr. Dobbs. An agreement was in consequence concluded and signed, which among other things stipulated for the lives of Byrne and Bond; but Government thought fit to annul this by the execution of Byrne. As, however, the main object, *the putting a stop to the useless effusion of blood*, was still attainable, it was deemed right to open a second negotiation. In its progress Government having insisted on some dishonourable requisitions, which we rejected with indignation, occasioned the failure of this also. It was, however, proposed by them to renew it again, and deputies from the gaols were appointed to confer with the official servants of the Crown. A meeting accordingly took place at the Castle on the 29th of July, when the final agreement was concluded and exchanged.

" In addition to *the fulfilment to the letter* of this agreement, the official servants of the Crown pledged the faith of Government for two things, one that the result and end of that measure should be the putting a stop to the effusion of blood, and that all executions should cease, except in cases of wilful murder; the other was that the conditions of the agreement should be liberally interpreted. The agreement was, in the course of a day or two, generally signed by the prisoners.

" Having thus stated the facts, we proceed to declare

our reasons for entering into and ratifying this agreement. First, Because we had seen, with great affliction, that in the course of the appeal to arms, while four or five counties out of the thirty-two were making head against the whole of the King's forces, no effectual disposition was manifested to assist them, owing, as we believe, to the extreme difficulty of assembling, and the want of authentic information as to the real state of affairs. Secondly, Because the concurring or quiescent spirit of the English people enabled their Government to send not only a considerable additional regular force, but also many regiments of English militia into Ireland. Thirdly, Because it was evident that in many instances the want of military knowledge in the leaders had rendered the signal valour of the people fruitless. Fourthly, Because, notwithstanding it was well known in France that the revolution had commenced in Ireland, an event that they were previously taught to expect, no attempt whatever was made by them to land any force during the two months which the contest had lasted, nor was any account received that it was their intention even shortly to do so. Fifthly, Because that by the arrest of many of the deputies and chief agents of the Union, and by the absence of others, the funds necessary for the undertaking were obstructed or uncollected, and hence arose insurmountable difficulties. Sixthly. Because from the several defeats at New Ross and Wexford, no doubt remained on our minds that farther resistance, for the present, was not only vain but nearly abandoned. Seventhly, Because we were well assured that the

proclamation of amnesty issued on the 29th June had caused great numbers to surrender their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. Eighthly, Because juries were so packed, justice so perverted, and the testimony of the basest informers so respected, that trial was but a mockery, and arraignment but the tocsin for execution. Ninthly, Because we were convinced by the official servants of the Crown, and by the evidence given on the trials, that Government was already in possession of our external and internal transactions; the former they obtained, as we believe, through the perfidy of some agents of the French government at Hamburgh; the latter through informers, who had been less or more confidential in all our affairs. Tenthly, and finally, Every day accounts of the murders of our most virtuous and energetic countrymen assailed our ears; many were perishing on the scaffold, under pretext of martial or other law, but many more the victims of individual orange hatred and revenge. To stop this torrent of calamity, to preserve to Ireland her best blood * * * we determined to make a sacrifice of no trivial value —we agreed to abandon our country, our families, and our friends.

"And now we feel ourselves further called upon to declare that an Act passed in Ireland during the autumn of 1798, reciting our names and asserting that we had 'retracted our opinions, acknowledged our crimes, and implored pardon,' is founded upon a gross and flagrant calumny. Neither we, the undersigned, nor any of our fellow-prisoners, so far as we know, or believe, having ever done either the one or

the other; and we solemnly assert, that we never were consulted about that Act, its provisions, or preamble; and that no copy of it was ever sent to us by any servant of the Crown, though repeatedly promised by the under-secretary, or by any other person. On the contrary, it had, unknown to us, passed the House of Commons when one of us (Sam. Neilson), having seen by mere accident an abstract of it in an English newspaper, remonstrated with the servants of the Crown on the falsity of the preamble, and was silenced only by a message from the Lord Lieutenant, that it was his positive determination to annul the agreement, and *proceed with the executions*, &c., if any further notice whatever was taken of the preamble, or if one word was published on the subject. We did not conceive ourselves warranted, situated as things then were, in being instrumental to a renewal of bloodshed. We have ever since been constrained to silence, for, in violation of a solemn agreement, we have been kept *close prisoners*.

"To our country and to posterity we felt that we owed this declaration; and to their judgment upon our conduct and motives we bow with respectful submission."

CHAPTER VIII.

On the 18th of March, 1799, after a year's imprisonment, Emmet received notice to prepare for embarkation the following morning. The place of his destination was kept a profound secret; and this circumstance caused the most serious apprehensions to his relatives. His sister, at a late hour the same evening, on hearing of the order that had been given, proceeded immediately to the Castle, and demanded an interview with the Viceroy, for the purpose of ascertaining the fate that was destined for her brother. She presented herself to the Viceroy with the spirit that seemed to be the characteristic of her race. Lord Cornwallis was moved even to tears at the earnestness of her supplication, the anxiety exhibited in her looks, the strength of feeling, the energy of character displayed in the effort she had made. He treated her with kindness, and assured her that "no harm should occur to her brother;" that the apprehension of a meditated descent on Ireland had rendered it necessary to remove the state prisoners to a place of security; that place he was not then at liberty to name; but that the treatment of her brother and his companions should be all his friends

or theirs could desire. Miss Emmet returned to her family; and the intelligence she brought, little as it was, relieved the minds of her parents of much of their alarm.

At daybreak the following morning, Thomas Addis Emmet bid a last farewell to his country. He never more set his foot upon its soil. The evening before his departure he was visited by his sister: he parted with her for the last time. Father, mother, sister, and brother, in the brief space of four or five years, were laid in the grave, within which period the last but one of the race of Emmet that was left in the land of his birth perished on the scaffold.

On the 9th of April, 1799, Emmet and his associates arrived at Fort George. In Neilson's correspondence this part of the history of their confinement is so fully detailed, that it is unnecessary to enter on it, except in reference to the subject of this memoir, and the conduct of the Lieutenant-governor, especially in regard to Emmet and his wife. Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, a brother of the Earl of Murray, descended from a royal race, then far advanced in years, filled the office of Lieutenant-governor of Fort George. His name and memory will always be remembered in Ireland with respect and honour, for his humane and generous conduct to her, Emmet, and his companions.

It seemed to be, from the beginning of their confinement at Fort George, the object of the Irish government, of which Lord Castlereagh was virtually the head, to render their situation as painful to them as possible, by the representations made of their conduct and designs to the English minister, while that of the

Duke of Portland was to act towards the prisoners as little as possible in the spirit of those representations; and the study of the officer in whose charge they were placed, to mitigate the rigour of every order he received in relation to them, so far as a due regard to duty allowed him to do. He told Emmet, at the commencement of their acquaintance, "he looked upon him, and the other state prisoners, as gentlemen, and as such he was disposed to treat them." He kept his word. During the first year of their confinement, several orders, very absurd, and, had they been acted on, of very unnecessary severity, had been wrung from the Duke of Portland by the malignity of the representations made by the Irish minister. The prisoners were forbidden the use of pen and ink, except "in the presence of a keeper," for the purpose of writing to their friends, on account "of the gross abuse of that privilege by the Dublin prisoners."* "The reason assigned for the last restriction (he says) makes it plain that the brain from which it originated was that of the Irish minister or of his clerk, and the source his heart; and that when he could not poison the air of Fort George by his deleterious breath, he embittered it by transfusing a portion of his gall through the secretarial pen of the Duke of Portland." Verbal communication was prohibited, except in presence of a sentinel; the time allowed for exercise was restricted to about an hour in the day for each individual; their allowance was reduced, and their correspondence with their friends encumbered with

* Dr. Dickson's Narrative, p. 136.

formalities, which could serve no useful purpose. All these severities were gradually mitigated by the Lieutenant-governor, and at length the restrictions existed only in name.

Mrs. Emmet, who was not permitted to accompany her husband to Fort George, had made repeated applications to Lord Castlereagh, from the time of the removal of Emmet, to be allowed to visit him. The answers returned to the poor lady were couched in terms of frigid courtesy, refusing her application. Mrs. Emmet informed her husband, in a letter which he received the 19th of November, 1800, that after making applications at the Castle during nine months, Lord Castlereagh at length had consented to her visiting her husband, but under conditions which amounted to a prohibition, and that she was then about to apply in person to the Duke of Portland.

Previously, however, to her making this personal application, she had applied to his Grace by letter. The influence that was exerted to defeat her object may be gathered from the conditions on which the British minister was willing to comply with her request. There is no transaction of those times with which Lord Castlereagh was connected which exhibits more unmanliness of character than the representation made by him to the British ministers of a lady of exalted worth, a wife devoted to her husband, the mother of five children, a lady in fine, in the unfortunate circumstances of Mrs. Emmet, as a person undeserving of the merciful consideration of government, being " suspected of having imbibed the principles" of her husband; and, on that account, to be

debarred from *his* society, except under restrictions that were an outrage on her feelings.

The following is a copy of the Duke of Portland's order, in consequence of the application then made by her:—

"Sir,—Mrs. Emmet, wife of Mr. Emmet, one of the prisoners at Fort George, has obtained my permission to see her husband; but, as she is suspected of having imbibed his principles, you will take particular care that she shall not be the means of communication between him and the disaffected in Ireland. She is only to see him in the presence of a proper person, and you are to take such steps as that she may not carry any letters or papers in or out of the Fort.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"PORTLAND.

"*The Hon. Lieutenant-governor Stuart.*"

In the month of July following she proceeded to London, obtained a personal interview with the Duke of Portland, and the result of it was such as might be expected; permission was granted to her not only to visit her husband, but to take her children and reside with him; and she attributed the indulgence, in a great measure, to the favourable representation of her husband's character and conduct, which had been made by Lieutenant-governor Stuart.*

From the time of Mrs. Emmet's arrival at Fort

* Dickson's Narrative, p. 157.

George till the liberation of the prisoners, the conduct of the good old governor to Mrs. Emmet was more like that of a father than the guardian of a prison (for such the fortress under his command had been made). His kindness to her children was unceasing, and his respectful attentions to her husband plainly showed in what light "the rebel leader" was regarded by him.

On one occasion a fire broke out at night in the fortress. The governor was called up, and on ascertaining that no danger was to be apprehended, he instantly ran to Emmet's apartment to remove his apprehension for himself and family; and the next day the following note was addressed to Emmet:—"The Lieutenant-governor's compliments to Mr. Emmet. He hopes Mrs. Emmet suffered no inconvenience from the alarm of fire which was given last night. As the idea of being locked in may occasion a disagreeable sensation to a lady's mind, in case of any sudden occurrence (though the Lieutenant-governor flatters himself that none in future will arise), he will give directions that the passage door leading to Mr. Emmet's apartments shall not in future be locked, being convinced Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors being left open.—*To Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq.*"

What a singular contrast between the conduct to Emmet of the Lieutenant-governor of Fort George, grounded on the conviction that "Mr. Emmet would make no improper use of all the doors (of his prison) being left open to him," and that of Lord Castlereagh, based on the suspicion of his wife being so

contaminated by his principles that the safety of the state required he should not be suffered to enjoy her society, except in the presence of a sentinel. So long as the conduct of the brave Scotch officer is remembered by Irishmen, ay, and by Englishmen, with honour, so long shall that of the unfeeling, cold-hearted, political apostate, the minion of Mr. Pitt, be remembered with loathing and contempt by right thinking men of all parties.

In November, 1800, Emmet received a letter from his fellow-student Home, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, informing him that "all his applications were fruitless, and his expectations vain, notwithstanding his most earnest interference in his favour."

Mrs. Emmet, in the mean time, was permitted to make excursions in the neighbourhood when she thought proper; she was visited by some of the families residing in the vicinity of the Fort, and visited them in turn. The Lieutenant-governor sent a message to her husband, informing the latter that he might accompany his wife whenever he thought proper to escort her. Emmet returned a written reply, expressing his gratitude for the Governor's kindness on all occasions, but begging respectfully to decline the indulgence offered, in the event of its coming from the British Government, but if it came from the Lieutenant-governor he would most willingly and thankfully accept his offer. Stuart wrote in reply that the offer had been his own spontaneous act, and as such it was accepted.

During Mrs. Emmet's residence at Fort George, she was confined. The child was called Jane Erin

Emmet. After a confinement of three years in Fort George, and of one year in the Dublin prisons, in violation of a solemn engagement, the Government determined on the liberation of the prisoners. But when the list of pardoned persons came to the Lieutenant-governor from the Home-office, it was ascertained that Emmet's name was not among those of the prisoners whose liberation was specified.

The Lieutenant-governor sent for Emmet, and with visible emotion, told him there was no order for his liberation or removal. The cause of the omission of his name, and of making him an exception to the lenity of Government, as the liberation of the prisoners was then absurdly called, could not be imagined. Stuart turning to him as he was about to leave the room, said, "Mr. Emmet, you shall go, I will take all hazards and all responsibility. You shall go to-morrow with the rest of the prisoners, and I will stand between you and the Government." The Emmets parted with the good old man who had acted towards them with so much kindness as with an old friend. They embarked with the other state prisoners for Cuxhaven, on the 30th of June, 1802, and landed in Holland on the 4th of July.

Emmet and his family proceeded to Hamburgh. They spent some time there at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and passed the winter of 1802 in Brussels; there Emmet received the intelligence of his father's death. The beginning of 1803, he went to France and passed the winter of that year in Paris. In the October following, he embarked

with his family at Bourdeaux for America, and arrived in New York on the 17th of November, 1804. During his stay at Amsterdam, in 1802, he was visited by his brother Robert, about six months before the return of the latter to Ireland. The particulars of that meeting, and the circumstances which grew out of it, appertain more especially to the memoir of Robert Emmet, and they are reserved for it.

It may be sufficient to state that Emmet, in the autumn of 1803, had an interview with Napoleon, and a subsequent correspondence, a portion of which is now presented for the first time to the public.

The document which is quoted is a copy of a letter addressed to Thomas Addis Emmet, by the First Consul, and from the copy of it in the handwriting of Emmet, and by him presented to John Sweetman. The author has transcribed it in the original language. Of its authenticity there is not the slightest doubt.

It will be observed that the memoir of Emmet was presented to Buonaparte the 13th of November, 1803, several months after the failure of the insurrection in Dublin. This document needs few comments, but it deserves very deep attention; in its subject there is ample food for reflection.

There are other circumstances connected with a previous application to Buonaparte, by another person connected with the insurrection of 1803, which will be noticed in the forthcoming and concluding series of this work, of which the memoirs of Robert Emmet and Thomas Russell will form one volume.

" *Copy of the First Consul's Answer to my Memoir of the 13th Nivose, an.* 12, (*Dec.* 13, 1803,) *delivered to me by Mr. Dalton, 27 Nivose, same year.*

" Le Premier Consul a lu avec la plus grande attention, la memoire qui lui a été adressé par M. Emmet le 13 Nivose.

" Il desire que les Irlandais Unis soyent bien convaincus que son intention est d'assurer l'independance de l'Irlande, et de donner protection entière et affiance à tous ceux d'entre eux qui prendront part à l'expedition, ou qui se joindront aux armées Françaises.

" Le Gouvernement Français ne peut faire aucune proclamation avant d'avoir touché le territoire Irlandais. Mais le général qui commandera l'expedition sera muni de lettres scellées, par lesquelles le Premier Consul declarera qu'il ne fera pas le paix avec l'Angleterre, sans stipuler pour l'independance de l'Irlande, dans le cas, cependant, où l'armée aurait été jointe par un corps considerable d'Irlandais Unis.

"L'Irlande sera en tout traitée comme l'a été l'Amérique dans la guerre passée.

" Tout individu qui s'embarquera avec l'armée Française destinée pour l'expedition, sera commissioné comme Français, s'il était arrêté, qu'il ne soit pas traité comme prisonnier Anglais.

" Tout corps formé au nom des Irlandais Unis sera consideré comme faisant parti de l'armée Française. Enfin, si l'expedition ne reussissait pas et que les Irlandais fussent obligés de revenir en France, la France entretiendra un certain nombre de brigades Irlandaises, et fera des pensions, à tout individu qui

aurait fait parte du gouvernement ou des autorités du pays.

" Les pensions pourraient été assimilées à celles qui sont accordées en France aux titulaires de grade ou d'emplois correspondant, qui ne sont pas en activité.

" Le Premier Consul desire qu'il se forme un comité d'Irlandais Unis. Il ne voit pas d'inconvenient à ce que les membres de ce comité fassent des proclamations, et instruissent leurs compatriotes de l'état de choses.

" Ces proclamations seront inserées dans l'Argus et dans les differens journaux de l'Europe, à fin d'eclairer les Irlandais, sur la parti qu'ils ont à suivre, et sur les esperances qu'ils doivent conçevoir. Si la comité veut faire un relation des actes de tyrannie exercées contre l'Irlande par la Gouvernement Anglais, on l'inserera dans le Moniteur."

The preceding copy as well as the succeeding note, is in the hand-writing of T. A. Emmet. " The foregoing is a correct copy of the First Consul's answer to my memoir; and in consequence of my quitting Europe for America, I leave this copy in the hands of John Sweetman.

(Signed) " THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

" *Paris, Sept. 2,* 1804."

The above letter was written a little less than four months after the renewal of hostilities between France and England. The treaty of Amiens was concluded the 25th of March, 1802. The British

ambassador quitted Paris 13th May, 1803. Buonaparte was nominated First Consul for life the 2nd of August, 1802, and proclaimed Emperor of France the 10th of May, 1804. In the interval between the two events, to consolidate his power appears to have been the chief aim of his policy. With regard to his professed intentions, whether he intended to act on them or not, is a question on which there is much difference of opinion. In the memoir of Augereau, in the "Biographie des Contemporaines," it is stated that "after the rupture of the treaty of Amiens (May, 1803) Augereau was named to the command of an expedition projected against *Portugal*, which did not take effect." Portugal appears to have been the scape-goat of all the expeditions which were destined for other countries. Arthur O'Connor ought to know something of the original destination of this expedition, inasmuch as he was appointed to accompany it, and it was on the occasion of that appointment he got the rank of general of division. In reference to this expedition, he states that "Buonaparte had a true intention to invade England, and had an army of 20,000 men in readiness for it, under the command of Augereau, when the intelligence of the new designs of Austria and Russia caused that intention to be given up." The declared intention, in all probability, subsequently became a part of the demonstration of the preparations for the invasion of England, carried on at all the ports, from Calais to La Somme, at various intervals, from 1801 to 1805, the real object of which was to keep the military

enthusiasm of France occupied with the grandeur of his conceptions, and the novelty of such projects as the accomplishment of his meditated invasion by a flotilla of boats, which was to supersede the necessity for a fleet like that which had been destroyed at Aboukir, and had not been yet replaced. That such was the opinion of Emmet, may be inferred from his departure for America in the latter part of October, 1803.

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CHAPTER IX.

EMMET's career in America has been fortunately traced by one of his professional friends in that country, Charles Glidden Haines, a gentleman distinguished at the bar, and one of the counsellors of the Supreme Court in Washington. This gentleman's eminence in his profession, his talents, and his close intimacy with Emmet, rendered him fully competent to the task undertaken by him.

In 1812, while he and Mr. Emmet were attending the Supreme Court of the United States, they lived together in the same house, and Emmet was prevailed on by his friend to give him a sketch of his career, which was committed to writing by the latter. It remained with him during his life unpublished, but after his decease it was given to the public along with a biographical memoir of himself, in 1829.

That part of it which is most valuable, the account of Emmet's career at the bar in America, falling as it did under the eyes of Mr. Haines, supplies the best, most ample, and authentic account of this portion of Emmet's history. The following extracts are taken verbatim from Mr. Haines's narrative:—

"In 1804, we find Thomas Addis Emmet a resident

of our own country. He now moves on a new theatre, and occupies a wide space in the consideration of a people to whom he was hitherto a stranger. He is no longer embarked in the troubled scenes of Europe. He commenced his career in the service of his country, to aid in conducting a most important revolution to a successful issue, and he failed in his attempt. About six years of the most valuable part of his life had been lost by imprisonment and the calamities attendant on the part which he acted. He now commences a new career, and with what success, this narrative may present some slight proof.

"When Mr. Emmet came to the United States, he was about forty years of age. His fortune had been broken, and he had a family to sustain and educate. For some time he doubted which profession he would pursue—that of medicine or the law. He was competent to undertake either. His friends advised him to go to the bar, and a great loss would have occurred to this country had he not done so. He then concluded to remove to the western country—to the state of Ohio. He had landed in New York, and had soon after made a visit to some parts of the southern country, and Walter Jones, Esq., a most eminent counsellor and advocate in the district of Columbia, had procured Mr. Emmet's admission to the bar in Alexandria. A slave population prevented his residence at the south. He had selected Ohio as a future residence for many reasons. Land was cheap and the country new; he had a rising and increasing family, which he wished to plant about him; the competition was not so closely waged at the bar as in some other

places, and every thing was young and new in polity and laws.

"The venerable George Clinton was then governor of the state of New York, and the most popular and powerful man in the state. He was a plain, stern, ardent republican, and of Irish blood. He sent for Mr. Emmet, with whom he had little or no acquaintance, and told him to remain in the city of New York. He said that Mr. Emmet's great talents would command patronage. General Hamilton, one of the brightest ornaments of the age in which he lived, had fallen in a private quarrel, and there was a great opening at the bar, which Mr. Emmet could occupy. As to the western country, Governor Clinton said it was a wilderness, and no place for a great lawyer. Mr. Emmet replied that he would gladly remain in New York, but he could not practise without a previous study of three years, or perhaps six, in order to become a counsellor and advocate, such were the rules of court adopted in New York, and while he was studying law his family would want bread. Governor Clinton told him in answer, not to be discouraged: if the Supreme Court declined giving him a licence, the legislature would give him one by an express statute. George Clinton no doubt could have effected this offer. He was the idol of the people, and the guardian spirit which presided over the republican party. De Witt Clinton was then mayor of the city of New York, an office at that time attended with an income of twenty thousand dollars a year. He was then a great leader in the republican ranks, a statesman of uncommon promise,

and had recently resigned his seat in the senate of the United States. He also sent for Mr. Emmet, advised him to remain in New York, and tendered him his utmost services and influence. He thought with George Clinton, his uncle, as to the Supreme Court, and as to what could be done with the legislature, Under these auspices Mr. Emmet changed his plans of future life, and concluded to pursue fortune and fame in the city of New York. George and De Witt Clinton then made a formal application to the judges of the Supreme Court. Chief-justice Spencer was then on the bench as a *puisne* judge. Judge Thompson and Vice-president Tompkins were also there. Chancellor Kent was the chief-justice. Spencer, Tompkins, and Thompson were found friendly; Kent peculiarly hostile. Judge Spencer was strong and decided, and Mr. Emmet always mentions the kindness, the friendship, and the effective aid of Vice-president Tompkins with many expressions of gratitude. Within two years past he argued a most important cause for the Vice-president without fee or reward, and obtained a verdict of 130,000 dollars, it being a suit with the United States. He said he did it with great pleasure, in remembrance of former friendship. Chancellor Kent was a warm, and I may almost say a violent federalist. He execrated all republican principles in Europe, and was the disciple of Edmund Burke as to the French revolution. He looked on Mr. Emmet with an unkind eye, and raised his voice against his appearing in the forums of our state. To the honour of the Chancellor, however, let it now be said, that he has more than once

expressed joy to Mr. Emmet that the other judges overruled his illiberal objections. Mr. Emmet was admitted to the bar of New York, without a resort to the legislature. It was a violation of the rules of court that his great talents and his sufferings palliated and excused.

"Mr. Emmet now commenced that splendid career at the American bar, that has not only elevated the character of the profession, but reflected back a lustre on his native land. The Irish bar have reason to be proud of the exile who has so essentially aided in giving immortality to Irish genius. Very soon after Mr. Emmet appeared at our bar, he was employed in a case peculiarly well calculated for the display of his extraordinary powers. Several slaves had escaped from a neighbouring state and found a refuge here. Their masters seized them, and the rights of these masters became a matter of controversy. Mr. Emmet, I have been informed, was retained by the Society of Friends—the real, steady, ardent and persevering friends of humanity and justice, and of course espoused the cause of the slaves. His effort is said to have been overwhelming. The novelty of his manner, the enthusiasm which he exhibited, his broad Irish accent, his pathos and violence of gesture, created a variety of sensations in the audience. His republican friends said that his fortune was made, and they were right.

"Mr. Emmet's strong and decided attachment to democratic principles was known even before he reached the American shores. Coming to a country where he could breathe and speak freely, he did not find it necessary to repress those bold and ardent

sentiments which had animated his bosom while toiling for the emancipation of Ireland. He mingled in the ranks of the republican party. Transatlantic politics, it is well known, had extended their agitations and influence to this country. The federal party hated France, hated Ireland in her revolutionary character, and hated Charles James Fox and his whig party in England. The line drawn in this country is still visible. Mr. Emmet was viewed by the opponents of Mr. Jefferson's administration as a fugitive jacobin. Hence he was doomed to some little persecution, even in this country. The great men of the New York bar were federalists. They therefore turned their faces against Mr. Emmet. They formed a combination, and agreed to decline all professional union and consultation with him. Mr. Emmet has told me the names of this shameful league, but as they are now his warmest friends and admirers, and as I respect and esteem them, their names shall not go from me. One man's name, however, I shall mention; for, although a firm federalist, and an eminent man, he nobly denounced the combination and all its objects. I speak of Cadwallader D. Colden. He and Mrs. Colden, an amiable and excellent lady, have paid Mr. and Mrs. Emmet the highest marks of respect and civility, ever since they became inhabitants of the United States. When Mr. Emmet ascertained the existence of the league, he did not hesitate what to do. His native boldness and decision of character governed his conduct. He determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. He did not wait for an attack. He proved the assailant. When-

ever he met any of the league at the bar, he assumed the attitude of professional war, and he lost nothing by contact. If Mr. Emmet has any one extraordinary power, it is the ready talent of successful and over-awing reply. His spirit is always dauntless. Fear he never knew. Hence he generally came off victorious in the wars against the combination.

"The league was soon dissolved. Business flowed in, and Mr. Emmet assumed a standing, and was able to maintain it, that put all opposition at defiance. It was not long after his arrival and settlement in New York, that his profession produced him ten thousand dollars a year. During some years, within a more recent period, it has amounted to an annual income of fifteen thousand dollars.

"In 1807, Mr. Emmet appeared before the American public in a controversy with Rufus King. Mr. King was the federal candidate for governor of the state of New York. Mr. Emmet, on political and personal grounds, was opposed to his election. At a meeting of the Hibernian Society, he broke out in an eloquent appeal to his countrymen and brethren, and urged them to rally and embody against Mr. King. This roused the temper of Mr. King's friends, and the federal papers, especially the *New York Evening Post*, poured a torrent of invective on the head of Mr. Emmet. Severe epithets and hard names were applied to him. He had seen political war before, and was not to have his lips sealed at this time. He addressed two letters to Mr. King, and the last was long and severe. As this will probably reach posterity, I will barely notice its tenor and allegations.

Mr. Emmet always considered Mr. King as instrumental in preventing the emigration of the Irish patriots to the United States, previous to their imprisonment at Fort George. Mr. King belonged to the federal school in politics. Among other distinctions in this country, there was what was termed the French party, and the British party. The federal party generally sided with the British government, in all controversies connected with continental politics. The Irish patriots had sought aid from France, and encountered the general aversion of the federalists of this country. Mr. King naturally set his countenance against the contemplated revolution in Ireland, and was not favourably disposed to the emigration of what were termed Irish rebels by the Court of St. James. How far he interfered, or how far the British Government feigned his interference, I cannot say; but it was used as a pretext, if not well-founded. It will be recollected, that there was a treaty between the Anglo-Irish government and Mr. Emmet, Mr. O'Connor, and Dr. Macneven. Among other proffered advantages, was the liberation of the prisoners for a residence in the United States. That liberation was subsequently denied, in violation of the treaty. Mr. Emmet, in his letter to Mr. King, adverts to his interference with great feeling and with no small indignation. * * * *

"I express no opinion as to the degree of reproach which should be attached to the character of Mr. King; but I will not omit what is very honourable to himself and to his sons. The former has more than once paid the highest compliment to

Mr. Emmet's talents, and in his late argument in the great steam-boat cause, left the senate for two days, to witness and hear his stupendous efforts as an orator. Mr. King's sons have always paid the highest respect to Mr. Emmet, and wherever his family have appeared in private circles, been marked and particular in their civility. These are small things, but they indicate good feelings.

"Mr. Emmet's course in 1807, and his ardour and firmness as a republican, identified him with the republican party. He never courted station or public trust: his theatre was the forum. In August, 1812, the Council of Appointment conferred upon him the office of Attorney-general of the State of New York. This was a post of honour, but could not add to his professional fame or emolument. He held the office but for a short time, and has never since sought or received any public appointment.

"I have now given a brief sketch of Mr. Emmet's life, or rather of its most leading incidents, so far as I have learned them from him and otherwise. I must now perform a more difficult task, and speak of him as one of the great pillars and ornaments of the American bar.

"Helvetius remarks, that the sun of glory only shines upon the tomb of greatness. His observation is too often true, but facts and living proofs sometimes contradict it. Mr. Emmet walks on in life, amid the eulogiums, the admiration, and the enthusiastic regard of a great and enlightened community. Without the glare and influence of public office, without titles and dignities, who fills a wider space, who commands more respect, than Thomas Addis

Emmet? Like a noble and simple column, he stands among us proudly pre-eminent—destitute of pretensions, destitute of vanity, and destitute of envy. In a letter which I recently received from a friend, who resides in the western part of the Union, a lawyer of eminence, he speaks of the New York bar. 'Thomas Addis Emmet,' says he, 'is the great luminary whose light even crosses the western mountains. His name rings down the valley of the Mississippi, and we hail his efforts with a kind of local pride.'

"If to draw the character of Homer needs the genius of the immortal bard himself; if to portray the powers of Demosthenes requires the gigantic intellect of the great Athenian orator, Mr. Emmet has nothing to expect from me. In presenting the features of his mind, I shall describe them from the impressions they make on me. I paint from the original. I catch the lineaments of the subject as living nature presents them.

"The mind of Thomas Addis Emmet is of the highest order. His penetration is deep, his views comprehensive, his distinctions remarkably nice. His powers of investigation are vigorous and irresistible. If there be any thing in a subject, he will go to the bottom. He probes boldly, reaches the lowest depths by his researches, analyzes every thing, and embraces the whole ground. He may be said to have a mind well adapted to profound and powerful investigation. In the next place, he has great comprehension. He sees a subject in all its bearings and relations. He traces out all its various operations. He begins at the centre and diverges, until it becomes

necessary again to return to the centre. As a reasoner—a bare, strict reasoner, Mr. Emmet would always be placed in an elevated rank. No matter how dry, how difficult, how repulsive the topic; no matter what may be its intricacies and perplexities, if any man can unfold and amplify it, he is equal to the task. * * * *

"I have spoken of his talent for deep and rigid investigation. I will now again recur to another feature of his mind—his talent for reasoning on whatever data or premises he relies on. All the illustrations and all the analogies which can well occur to the mind, are readily and adroitly arranged in his arguments. He makes the most of his cause, and often makes too much—giving a front that is so palpably over formidable, that men of the plainest sense perceive the fruits of a powerful mind, without being at all convinced.

"Mr. Emmet is a lawyer of great and faithful legal research. He has consulted books with as much fidelity and perseverance as any man at the American bar. Perhaps he has not done this with so much system as appears in the study of many others; a constant pressure of business may have prevented study upon abstract principles, with bare views of gaining knowledge; but in his day, he has spared nothing in the compass of his reading. He has gone back to the black letter, and come down to all the modern works that weigh down the shelves of our libraries, in the shape of reports and elementary treatises. In his arguments he calls up all the authorities applicable to his case; and what is of great consequence in the character of a finished

lawyer, these authorities shed light on the subject matter of discussion. There are many advocates, and too many judges among us, who make a parade of their learning; who quote decisions without an accurate discrimination of what they tend to prove. Legal distinctions are not less nice and delicate than those of a moral order. Law and ethics are in fact intimately blended. A system of jurisprudence embraces rules of action for all the concerns of human life that can be interesting to the whole community; for all the business transactions of society; for the discharge of all mutual obligations incident to civilization, and which it may be necessary for constituted authorities to enforce. No rule of law can be sound and salutary unless it be consistent with justice, when carried through in all its bearings and in its full application to all cases to which it can even pertain. This is the difference between partial and general rules. The law deals in general rules. All its axioms are general. All its maxims are intended to be universal. Hence, when a principle of law is laid down in a case of a collateral nature to the one under a particular discussion, it needs some judgment to ascertain its strict appl cability to a given case. Mr. Emmet cites with accuracy, and courts very much rely on his discernment—a character, by the way, of immense importance to an advocate. Courts soon measure a lawyer's understanding. If he wants perspicuity and clearness—if he mingles and confuses—he is sure to mislead, if he command respect and credence. Hence he will not long find countenance in legal tribunals. Mr. Emmet is not fond of resorting to the civil law, the *corpus juris civilis*. He

occasionally draws from this fountain, but reposes generally on the common law. The text of the civil law is in his library, and the works of most of the commentators on this text; but my apprehension is that he has only consulted this grand body of jurisprudence in extraordinary cases.

"The subject of this memoir is not less distinguished for his knowledge of the theory of the law than he is of the practice. As a special pleader, he has great experience and precision; and whoever looks through the decisions of cases in the New York reports, and those argued in the Supreme Court at Washington, where he has been concerned, will be convinced of the fact here asserted. It has been said, that while Erskine dazzled, charmed, and astonished all who heard him in Westminster Hall, the hard head and watchful skill of the nisi prius lawyer was always perceptible. Mr. Emmet, while he displays wonderful powers of eloquence, and indulges in bursts of lofty and noble sentiment, and appeals to the great moral maxims that must govern men in this world while we have laws, morals, and obedience to order, never forgets the landmarks of professional watchfulness: he is still the well-disciplined lawyer, contending for his client.

"I must now mention another advantage that distinguishes Mr. Emmet in his professional career. His historical illustrations are numerous, pertinent, and happy. In this he excels any man whom I have ever heard. He was educated in Europe, and was for many years not only a political man, but associated on intimate terms with the first men of the age. He not only read, but he heard and saw. In addition to

what we find in the volumes of history, he collected many things which floated in the atmosphere of the times, well calculated to give a clue to the character of men and of transactions lost to the ordinary historian. Besides this, he collected a vast fund of anecdote from personal intercourse with great and knowing men. In the various changes of the British ministry, and during a great number of party conflicts, many interesting circumstances transpired, worthy to be treasured up by the moralist, or to be lashed by the satirist. In arguing and in trying great causes, I have heard Mr. Emmet draw on his memory with great effect, calling up parallels and presenting striking contrasts. I can at this moment call two instances to mind, where his recollection and historical knowledge afforded him much aid. When the honourable William W. Van Ness was facing that torrent of political persecution that swept him to the grave, Mr. Emmet was his leading counsel. There was instituted a legislative inquiry into his connexion with the incorporation of the Bank of America, with an intention to find matter on which an impeachment could be sustained—he being a Judge of the Supreme Court of the state of New York. The case was peculiar, and will be memorable in the history of our state. It terminated in a vote, that there was no ground to impeach Judge Van Ness, or to prefer articles of impeachment; and in this vote of the house of assembly there was but one dissenting voice. His name, it is hoped, for the honour of free principles and the character of justice, will never be mentioned. But to the point. Judge Van Ness had been a warm

federalist, and constant to his principles. He was now a friend and supporter of DeWitt Clinton. Some of his old federal friends, who had completely faced about, and joined what were called the bucktail party, commenced against him a violent and implacable system of hostility. These men had been his bosom friends for years after the incorporation of the Bank of America. They had, at one time, anxiously sought his nomination for Governor. Some of them, who were his immediate accusers, had flourished under the auspices of his friendship. But political rancour and personal ambition sealed the heart to feelings that are honourable to our nature, and Judge Van Ness was marked out as a victim of unprovoked vengeance. In the course of the investigation, there was an argument at the bar of the house of assembly. Here was a fine field for Mr. Emmet's transcendant powers, and he made one of his most fortunate efforts. I heard his argument, and I shall never forget it. I shall here only allude to his introduction. He first spoke of the nature of the inquiry instituted against his client. He was not assailed by foes who had been arrayed against him for years—whose hostility had been rendered keen and inveterate by long, constant, and bitter conflicts. He was not assailed by men whose happiness he had blasted, whose fortunes he had wrecked, whose hopes he had disappointed, whose paths he had crossed; he was a persecuted man, and persecuted by those in whose bosoms gratitude, sympathy, and respect for his client should find a genial and a lasting refuge. He then struck off into English history. He spoke of the great and illus-

trious men who had fallen martyrs to the cause of their country, or victims to political and party violence. The scaffold had streamed with their blood, and their country had blushed in later ages for their fall; but in all these dark and disgraceful scenes, how many noble instances of friendship, regard, and personal fidelity had appeared! He particularly alluded to the case of Lord Wentworth, and repeated his words as he uttered them on his trial. While these lights were brought from history, the attention of the assembly and the spectators was perfectly chained to the words of the advocate. Every sentence was heard, and the blood ran cold in every man's veins.

The other instance appeared in a case of less note. It was a case of libel. A suit had been commenced against the editor of a newspaper, and in the course of the trial certain charges made by the plaintiff on the defendant were brought under examination. The editor was charged with having made offers to sell himself to a political party, hostile to the one with which he was identified. Certain witnesses proved that he had proposed, that for a certain loan of money, he would cease from his political labours, and be silent. This was said by his counsel to amount to nothing like a proposition to sell himself. Throughout the trial, Mr. Emmet displayed an elevated idea of moral rectitude, and indicated his views of political honour. Some of his remarks would rank with the beautiful sketches of Johnson in his *Rambler* and *Idler*. When he came to the proposition alluded to, he presented the case of the Earl of Bath. 'He had been a distinguished leader

of the whig party in England. On the floor of the House of Commons, he was viewed as an intrepid and incorruptible patriot. He almost arrested the ministry in its course of measures. Sir Robert Walpole at length made him Earl of Bath, and from that moment no more was heard from the great whig and commoner, Mr. Pulteney.* Did he not sell himself?' said Mr. Emmet. 'The British nation thought so, and the execrations of the whole empire gathered round his head, and followed his daily walks.' * * * *

"As a classical scholar, but few men can stand before Mr. Emmet in point of attainments. He is familiar with the great writers of antiquity—the master spirits who have infused their genius and their sentiments into the popular feelings of ages which have rolled on long after the poet and the orator, the statesman and the historian, have ceased to glow, to speak, to guide, or to write. He has closely consulted those oracles of wisdom, those disciples of philosophy, those sons of the muses, whose opinions, sentiments, and effusions, lighten the sorrows of human existence, inspire the mind with noble ideas, and cheer the ardent and persevering devotions of the student. The man of whom I speak was more intimately acquainted with the poets of Greece and Rome, than with the prose writers: at least, such is the fact evinced in his speeches and conversation. Virgil and Horace are always on his tongue, and

* Vide Smollet's Hist. of England, p. 268, Jones' University edit.—1826.

Juvenal is sometimes called to his aid. There is a reason for this kind of learning in Mr. Emmet. His early education was in the schools of Europe. He had all the discipline and all the primitive advantages peculiar to those schools. The Latin and the Greek tongues were introduced to his notice when yet a child, and for years they were his daily companions. The writings of the British classics he has also consulted with a delight and advantage which often appear in his arguments. Shakspeare, in particular, he often quotes.

"One of the greatest charms of Mr. Emmet's eloquence, is the fancy which he continually displays. He possesses an imagination boundless as the world of light, in its grandeur, and beauty. Its flights are bold —its pictures soft, magnificent, or awful, as the subject may require. This power is greater in Mr. Emmet than in any other lawyer whom I have ever heard. It enables him to shed a charm over every subject which he touches. To the most dry and meagre topic, he can impart interest and attraction. All his figures indicate taste and propriety. They are often bold and daring, and frequently show very great accuracy and precision of language. It falls to his province to impress on the mind of every hearer a recollection as lasting as life. No man who ever heard him for an hour can forget his figure, his face, his manner, and a great part of his very language. Some of his peculiar figures of speech would be well remembered.

"I have already spoken of Mr. Emmet's readiness at retort. Whoever rouses his energies by a rude

assault or a stroke of satire, is sure to hear of it again, and generally has good reason to regret the ill-timed provocation. In 1815, he made his first appearance at the Supreme Court of the United States in Washington. He and Mr. Pinckney were brought in contact. The latter closed the argument in a very important cause in which they were both engaged, and with his characteristic arrogance alluded to the fact of Mr. Emmet's migration to the United States. When he had concluded his argument, Mr. Emmet being for the respondent in error, had no right to reply; but he nevertheless rose, and after correcting a trifling error in some of Mr. Pinckney's statements, he took up the mode and manner in which his opponent had treated him. He said he was Mr. Pinckney's equal in birth, in rank, in his connexions, and he was not his enemy. It was true that he was an Irishman. It was true that in attempting to rescue an oppressed, brave, and generous hearted people, he had been driven from the forum in his own land; it was true that he had come to America for refuge, and sought protection beneath her constitution and her laws; and it was also true that his learned antagonist would never gather a fresh wreath of laurel, or add lustre to his well-earned fame, by alluding to these facts in a tone of malicious triumph. He knew not by what name arrogance and presumption might be called on this side of the ocean, but sure he was that Mr. Pinckney never acquired these manners in the polite circles of Europe, which he had long frequented as a public minister. Mr. Pinckney was not ready at retort, and he made no reply; but a

few days afterwards it so happened that he and Mr. Emmet were again opposed to each other in a cause of magnitude, and it fell to Mr. Emmet's part to close the argument, who was determined that his antagonist should be put in mind of his former deportment and expressions. Mr. Pinckney was aware of the thunderbolt in store, and took the opportunity of paying to Mr. Emmet's genius, fame, and private worth, the highest tribute of respect. This respect was never afterwards violated. When Mr. Emmet rose out of his place as before stated, Chief-justice Marshall indicated great uneasiness, thinking that something unpleasant might be the result. Mr. Justice Livingston reached forward his head and remarked in a whisper, 'Let him go on; I will answer that he says nothing rude or improper.' With this, as well as with the result, the chief-justice was satisfied.

"Some years previous to this, Mr. Emmet repaired to the county of Chenango, to try an indictment for an attempt to procure the vote of a member of the legislature by bribery and corruption. He was then Attorney general, and the proceeding excited strong party feelings. Elisha Williams and Mr. Foot, formerly an eminent counsellor and advocate residing in Albany, were opposed to him. The latter had his task assigned him—he was to browbeat Mr. Emmet. In the discharge of this duty, he stated, among other things, that Mr. Emmet's promotion to the office of Attorney general was the reward of party efforts, and that in conducting this prosecution, he was doing homage for that office. He gained nothing by his assaults. When Mr. Em-

met came to this part of his speech, he stated the accusation as it had been made by his opponent, and replied, 'It is false, and he knew it. The office which I have the honour to hold, is the reward of useful days and sleepless nights, devoted to the acquisition and exercise of my profession, and of a life of unspotted integrity—claims and qualifications which that gentleman can never put forth for any office, humble or exalted.'

"In 1822, Mr. Emmet was employed in a very interesting case in the Court of Errors in the state of New York. A man had died leaving a large estate, and a pretended wife claimed it by virtue of a nuncupative will. The estate was claimed by Irish heirs, and the legality of the will was disputed. Mr. Emmet appeared for the heirs, and it occurred that most or all the witnesses who sustained the illegality of the instrument in question, were Irishmen. Mr. Henry, of Albany, an able and sagacious advocate, attempted to invalidate the testimony of these witnesses, and indulged many rude hits on account of their national character. Mr. Henry being himself of Irish descent, and having made almost a direct attack on Mr. Emmet, roused all his fire. The arguments of the different counsel consumed several days, and when the great Irish orator drew to the close of his extraordinary efforts, which had consumed two entire days of the court, he broke forth into one of his master exertions. The nature of the testimony alluded to he had already examined; he now took up the reflection on Irish character. He carried the eye of the court over the land of his

birth—the graves of her illustrious men—the monuments of her heroes, her orators, her statesmen, her poets, her philosophers; he then pictured her green fields, her beautiful shores, the genius of her people, the simplicity of her peasantry, and the dark and horrid gulf in which her liberties and her happiness were buried; he came down to himself, the scenes through which he had passed, and the honesty, the zeal, and the integrity which he had found among his countrymen. And lastly, he pointed to Mr. Henry. If he had a drop of good blood in his veins, it was Irish blood. When he beheld the successful efforts in that forum on the part of his learned antagonist, he felt that he was an Irishman! The whole scene was one of the most interesting that I ever witnessed.

"Mr. Emmet's deportment at the bar is mild, urbane, dignified and conciliating. To the junior members of the profession, in particular, he is a model of obliging civility—always speaking favourably of their efforts and kindly of their exertions, however meagre and discouraging. To me he has given many sound lessons of advice. '*Let me see you do that again,*' has been his language of reprehension when condemning some particular habit or fault.

"Mr. Emmet's appearance and manners are plain and simple in the extreme. His dress is wholly unstudied. Every thing, however, shows the most perfect delicacy of feeling. Modest, unassuming, unobtrusive, and perfectly polite, he would alone attract the attention of a stranger by that amiable

temper and obliging disposition that manifested themselves on all occasions. I do not consider him an eloquent or a powerful man in ordinary conversation. His remarks are generally appropriate, and well adapted to passing colloquial scenes. He speaks with sense and intelligence; but he discovers nothing of the man he is, unless called out by an occasion sufficient to awaken his mind and create excitement. In the circles of Washington, with Robert Goodloe Harper, John Randolph, William Wirt, and others of an equal rank in talents, I have heard him converse with uncommon interest on English history and the policy of European governments. I once heard him contrast and describe the characters of the most distinguished British statesmen who had shared in the confidence of the Government, from the days of Robert Walpole to those of Lord Castlereagh, a man whose heart he abhorred and detested; but how much more powerful and interesting would he have appeared on the same topics in the Senate house!

"Having never heard the speeches and arguments of Erskine and Curran, I am incompetent to compare Mr. Emmet with those great orators. Manner is one of the principal attributes of a great speaker; and Mr. Emmet's is excellent, and in many respects unrivalled. But if I might be permitted to compare Mr. Emmet's speeches, as I know they would read if written out, with Erskine's and Curran's, as they are reported, he would not fall behind his illustrious competitors. To Mr. Curran, I think Mr. Emmet superior—superior as a mere lawyer, and superior as a logician; and exquisitely beautiful and truly

eloquent as Curran really was in the defence of Rowan, I think Emmet would have made a more powerful and overwhelming speech in that great case.* As a lawyer and an orator, I am not to say that he is superior to what Erskine was in the days of his glory; for I view that orator with a veneration that is never invaded or diminished. Mr. Emmet would not have excelled him in the case of Stockdale, in the case of the publisher of the Rights of Man, nor in any of the splendid efforts that marked the unrivalled career of the prince of English orators in the forum; but he would have been the competitor of Erskine in such cases, had he met him on equal terms at the English bar; and I might safely challenge the whole list of Irish orators for the superior of Thomas Addis Emmet.

"In his private character, the object of this memoir is without a blemish. Generous, humane, obliging, and strictly honest; a heart open, frank, and ardent; upright in all his dealings; rigid and austere in his habits; temperate and rational in all his enjoyments; liberal and free from prejudice upon every subject; kind and affectionate as a husband, a father, and a friend; anxious to do good and diminish evil. Such a man is Mr. Emmet."

The task which Haines undertook in 1812, and left uncompleted, has been finished by another hand. Shortly after the death of Emmet, the following account of the close of his life was drawn up, and published in

* The author differs from Mr. Haines in the opinion above mentioned.—R. R. M.

the same little volume, containing the Memoirs of Haines and Emmet.

"Early in November, 1827, he had been much engaged in the defence of Lieut. Percival, on a charge of extortion, and also in a cause of unusual importance, generally called the great Astor case, involving the right of Mr. Astor to lands in Putnam county, to the amount of perhaps eight hundred thousand dollars. In the former case he defended his client with all his accustomed vigour and ability, and the result was a verdict of acquittal. In the latter, on Monday, the 12th, he addressed the jury in a style of animated eloquence, of prompt and overwhelming retort, and of powerful argument, which was said by many of his audience to have even surpassed his earlier efforts. On Wednesday, the 14th, while attending the trial of another cause of importance, (the case of the Sailors' Snug Harbour,) in which he was counsel, in the United States' Circuit Court, he was seized with an apoplectic fit; and on being carried home, he expired in the course of the following night, being in the 63rd year of his age. He had made no exertion in particular that day, but had taken notes of the testimony through the morning, and on examination these notes were found to be a full and accurate transcript of what occurred up to the very moment when the pen fell from his hand on his being seized with a fit. The scene in the court room was in the highest degree impressive. Every individual present—the court, the bar, the audience, all were absorbed in the most anxious interest for the fate of this eminent man. The court was

instantly adjourned. When his death was known, the expression of sorrow and respect was universal. His funeral was attended by the members of the bar, the students at law, and a crowd of other citizens, all desirous to pay their tribute of respect to the memory of the great deceased. A neat monument of white marble has since been placed in the wall of the apartment where Mr. Emmet was seized with the fatal illness. It is surmounted with his bust, and bears the following inscription:—

THOMÆ . ADDIS . EMMET
VIRO
DOCTRINA . IURE . SCIENTIA . ELOQUENTIA
PRÆSTANTISSIMO
INTER . HÆC . SUBSELLIA . ET . OFFICII . MUNERA
SUBITA . MORTE . CORREPTO
SOCII . FORENSES . POSUERANT.

"Mr. Emmet was a diligent student. He confined himself to study and business more than twelve hours a day. After returning home in the evening, he would retire to his own apartment, and continue the investigation of any subject in which he was engaged till twelve or one at night. His constitution was vigorous, and his habits uniformly temperate, so that his devotion to study never seemed to injure his health. It was one consequence of this intense application, that he was remarkable among his brethren at the bar for his perfect knowledge of the cases in which he was concerned. When Mr. Emmet came into court, he was sure to be familiar with every point of the testimony, and could not be taken by

surprise. When not employed in solving some legal question, his reading was often discursive. He would sometimes amuse himself with mathematical calculations. He found leisure to make himself acquainted with all the current news of the day. Yet he spared no time for the diversions of society, went little into company, and rarely appeared at public dinners. At home he was always gay and cheerful. He was utterly devoid of ceremony. His dress was good, but he was very careless of it; if it rained, he was as likely to be seen without as with an umbrella. The furniture of his office was plain and ordinary. But while he was totally neglectful of these trifles, he was never inattentive to the feelings of others. High and low were sure of meeting from him a kind and courteous reception. Yet his was no studied politeness; it was the natural offspring of a good heart; and the full energies of his mind were devoted to the great and interesting topics which agitated individuals and nations. His appropriate sphere was active life; and he may well be pronounced fortunate, since he filled the station for which nature and education peculiarly qualified him. Although the prime of his life was darkened by misfortune; although he was severely disciplined by the hardships of imprisonment and the bitterness of exile, yet he was trusted and revered in the land where he was persecuted as a rebel, and in the country of his adoption, where he arrived in the vigour of his manly strength, and held the erect attitude of an unbroken and unbending spirit, he readily obtained the confidence of all those who became acquainted with him,

mingled largely in the transaction of important affairs, placed himself at the head of his profession without leaving one blot on his escutcheon for envy to point its finger at, and acquired a brilliant reputation as a lawyer and an orator. That nothing might be wanting to complete the happy fortune which Providence seemed to bestow upon his mature life, in some sort as a compensation for the sufferings of his early manhood, he did not waste away in the gradual decay of imbecile old age, but died in the fulness of his years, cut off in the very field of his honourable triumphs. His remains were consigned to the dust by affectionate children, whom he had been permitted to see already filling a space in the public eye; and the community in which he had lived paid a willing tribute of love and honour to his memory."

The monument erected to the memory of Emmet is worthy of it. It stands in front of Broadway, the great thoroughfare of the city, in the cemetery of St. Paul's Church. It is a marble monolithe, of thirty feet elevation. It is inscribed on three sides in three languages. The greater part of the English inscription was written by Mr. Verplanck, one of the New York representatives in the congress of the United States. The Latin inscription was written by Mr. John Duer, an eminent barrister, whose works on jurisprudence are well known in this country. The inscription in the Irish language was written by the late Dr. England, R. C. Bishop of Charleston. The expense of this monument was partly defrayed by the contributions of his countrymen in the United States, and partly by the applica-

tion of the funds in the hands of the treasurer of the American Catholic Association. When the Relief Bill of 1829 was carried, the receipt of money under the name of Catholic rent, was prohibited by that statute. The American society then thought the best application of the remaining funds, namely 1,006 dollars raised for Catholic purposes, would be to the erection of a monument to the memory of one of the early advocates of Catholic emancipation, who devoted his splendid talents to its cause, and sacrificed for its interests the brightest prospects. He did not live to see the promised land of toleration, but he did more, with the exception of Tone, than any of his contemporaries towards the consummation so devoutly to be wished for.

That monument was never looked on by the author* without feeling that its existence in America and the uninscribed one in his own country, (except in the hearts of his countrymen,) were subjects for contemplation of strange and melancholy interest. And often as he gazed on that splendid sepulchre which his countrymen in the new world had raised to the memory of "the banished rebel," who had become in another land an honoured citizen, "whose private life was beautiful as his public course was brilliant,"—he could not help asking his own heart was justice never to be done to the memories of those who had been held up in their own country by the unmitigated violence and malignity of Orangeism to obloquy and odium. To what generation yet to come were their memories to be resigned? Did they

* The United States were visited by him in 1834, 1836, and 1839.

like the younger enthusiast in his cause, when the "lamp of life was nearly extinguished," when the grave was opening to receive him and he was ready to sink into its bosom, bid no man dare to write their epitaphs, but left the charge to other men and to later times to do justice to their memories. When was that era to arrive? Where were the men to be looked for to inscribe their tombs? Was the marble to be sought in the quarries of America that was to perpetuate their *name*, their devotion to their country, and their unhappy fate?

Was the writer of these inscriptions to come out of a strange land, and to seek amongst strangers respect for the talents, or sympathy for the sufferings of the Irish dead? Must he be reminded that their enterprise was unsuccessful? and must, therefore, have failed from their faults, or originated in *their* crimes? If their impatience of their country's wrongs, their hatred of oppression was "too rash, too unadvised, too sudden," shall we be told that their patriotism was but the brilliant flash of a transitory passion,—"too like the lightning that doth cease to be ere one can say it lightens?" Are the traits of heroism, or the traces of love of country displayed in that struggle so easily to be forgotten, that there is no fame for them with whom fortune was not? Is the meed of generous sympathy so narrowly confined, that there is no pity for the faults which render the very intensity of the love of liberty and enthusiasm in its cause unpropitious to the fate of those who feel perhaps more than they reason at the onset of the struggle, and as they become deeper and deeper engaged in it, overlook the difficulties

by which it is beset, and overrate the strength and nature of their own resources? But is no patriot to be honoured *but the successful rebel?* Has liberty no champions to proclaim, but those who have escaped the scaffold? Has Ireland no victims to lament, no lost defenders to bewail, but those whose bones are laid under the sands at Clontarf, or the green sod at Aughrim, or the Boyne? Has Ireland no votaries to boast of in her tristful exultation, but those who retrieved the errors of a lofty enthusiasm, which poured out its young blood in her defence, by the adoption of other and happier modes of seeking the same objects which were sought in vain by their predecessors.

Ill-timed or otherwise, such were the reflections which the tomb of Thomas Addis Emmet called forth, and which even merged for a time the recollection of his sufferings in those of the still "deeper calamities of his kindred," though no remembrance of his brother's noble qualities could supersede, for an instant, the conviction of the superior powers which pre-eminently qualified Thomas Addis Emmet *to lead the people*, and, had the qualities of any one man sufficed for the attainment of that object, to conduct their cause to a successful issue.

Great as were the talents of the men who stood beside him in the early struggle for his country's liberty, this pre-eminence may be claimed for him, for, while the profoundness of his judgment, and the justice of his views, entitled him to the respect of his associates, his inflexible integrity commanded the respect even of his enemies.

In what estimation he was held by his professional brethren in America, the brief memoir of Mr. Haines enables us to form an opinion. But all that Haines has said in some parts of his memoir, perhaps a little too diffusely, has been summed up in a masterly style by one less intimately acquainted with Emmet in private life, but one, it may be said, without disparagement to Mr. Haines, better qualified than any one of his associates to pronounce an opinion on the character of his eloquence, his legal attainments, and general mental powers.

Mr. Duer, of New York, (brother of the President of the College,) one of the most distinguished lawyers of America, in speaking of Emmet at the meeting called for the purpose of carrying measures into effect for the erection of a monument to his memory, observed, "It was his fortune to have known him from his first arrival in New York, and to hear him, he believed, in a majority of the important cases in which his talents were most successfully exerted. His opinion was unbiassed; since, from peculiar causes, there were no relations between them beyond those of mere civility.

"Thomas Addis Emmet in head and in heart, and in no vulgar sense of the term, was a great man; and as an orator, with the single exception of Burke, unsurpassed by any that his country has produced. Superior in judgment, in taste, in the extent and variety of his learning, in persevering skill, in chastened fervour, in true pathos, the abilities of Emmet were never displayed on their proper theatre. His large and philosophic views of society, govern-

ment, and law; his ample stores of knowledge; his unrivalled promptitude, and invariable self-command; his elocution, flowing, copious, rapid, unlimited in the range, most fortunate in the choice of his language; his brilliant imagination and ardent feelings, when most excited, disciplined to obey the suggestions of his reason; his power of sarcasm and irony rarely exerted, but when put forth, resistless; and above all, that *imperiatorial* tone of voice (if the phrase be allowed) which his superior genius enabled him, without affectation, to assume in a deliberative and popular assembly, would have combined to invest him with controlling sway."

This notice of the character and career of Emmet shall be appropriately closed with an observation of one of the most attached, the most sincere, the most upright and intrepid of his associates, Dr. William James Macneven:—

"The attributes of genius are not rare among the Irish and American countrymen of Emmet, and time is constantly developing the resources of mind. The labours of intellect press onward for distinction, while names of high endowments are forced back to make room for new reputations. They alone will be long remembered who have acted with an impulsive power on the destinies of their country and kind.

"Among those who first taught how to overthrow the misrule of Ireland, who exposed its causes and prepared its cure, Emmet is distinguished. He had great influence on the adoption of those measures which are still at issue between Ireland and her foes, and which in part obtained, in part withheld, are

determinative of her future happiness, as they shall finally fail or be signally successful. He espoused the unqualified emancipation of the Catholics when that measure had few supporters out of their own body. He brought to that cause virtue and talents, and he and a few more influential members of the Protestant church redeemed the errors of their predecessors. It is due to their memory to record that their vigorous interference broke the religious bonds which the Protestants of a former period had bound. They were accessible among the first in Ireland to the liberality of their age. Emmet, with the aid of his standing at the bar, and of his commanding eloquence, exerted upon every fitting occasion, strenuously advanced those principles and policy for which we now do honour to his name."

Two of the inscriptions on the tomb of Emmet are at greater length than it is customary to go to in epitaphs in this country.* The reason for extending the details given in those inscriptions, is the circumstance of there being no published works of Emmet's, with the exception of the "Part of an Essay towards the History of Ireland," which appeared in Macneven's "Pieces of Irish History" in 1807, and, consequently, there being a greater necessity for preserving, by other means, the remembrance of his intellectual powers and public conduct. The following are copies of the several inscriptions in English, Latin, and Irish; the compositions of three men highly distinguished in their several pursuits.

* Dr. Macneven's Report in relation to Mr. Emmet's Monument, 1833.

IN MEMORY OF

THOMAS ADDIS EMMET,

Who
Exemplified in his conduct,
And adorned by his
Integrity,
The policy and principles
Of the United Irishmen—
" To forward a brotherhood
Of affection,
A community of rights,
An identity of interests,
And a union of power
Among Irishmen
Of every religious persuasion,
As the only means of Ireland's
Chief good,
An impartial and adequate
Representation
In an Irish Parliament."
For this,
(Mysterious fate of virtue!)
Exiled from his native land.

In America, the land of freedom,
He found a second country,
Which paid his love
By reverencing his genius.
Learned in our laws
And in the laws of Europe,
In the literature of our times
And in that of antiquity,
All knowledge
Seemed subject to his use.
An orator of the first order,

Clear, copious, fervid,
Alike powerful
To kindle the imagination,
Touch the affections,
And sway the reason and the will.
Simple in his tastes,
Unassuming in his manners,
Frank, generous, kind-hearted,
And honourable,
His private life was beautiful,
As his public course was
Brilliant.

Anxious to perpetuate
The name and example of such a man,
Alike illustrious by his
Genius, his virtues, and his fate;
Consecrated to their affections
By his sacrifices, his perils,
And the deeper calamities
Of his kindred,
In a just and holy cause;
His sympathizing countrymen
Erected this monument and
Cenotaph.

Born at Cork, 24th April, 1764,
He died in this city,
14th November, 1827.

M. S.

THOMÆ ADDIS EMMET.

Qui
Ingenio illustri, studiis altioribus,
Moribus integris,
Dignum
Se præstabat laudibus illis,
Illa reverentia, illo
Amore
Quæ semper eum viventem
Prosequebantur;
Et subita illo erepto, morte,
Universæ in luctum civitatis
Se effuderunt.
Quum raro extiterit vir
Naturæve dotibus, doctrinæve subsidiis
Omnibus illo instructior;
Tum eloquentia, altâ illâ et verâ
Qualem olim mirabantur Roma
Athenæque,
Præcipue alios anteibat:
Gravis, varius, vehemens, fervidus,
Omnes animi motus sic regere norît,
Uti eos qui audirent, quo vellet
Et invitos impelleret.
Hiberniâ natus,
Dilectam sibi patriam diu subjectam
Alieno, servis tantum ferendo, jugo,
Ad libertatem, ad sua jura vocare
Magno est ausus animo;
At præclara et consilia et vota
Fefellere fata.
Tum infelicis littora Iernæ
Reliquit,

Spe, non animo, dejectus
Nobilis exsul;
Et hæc Americana libens Respublica
Illum excepit, civemque, sibi
Gratulans adscivit;
Dein hæc civitas illi domus,
Hæc patria fuit,
Hæc gloriam illi auxit, hæc
Spiritus ultimos
Recepit.
Mærentium civium voluntas
Hoc exegit monumentum.

Do mhiannaich se ardmáth
Cum tir a breith
Do thug se clu a's fuair se moladh
An deig a bais.

CHAPTER X.

EMMET had little correspondence with his friends in Ireland from the time of his departure from Fort George. His communications were confined to three or four individuals, and had very little reference to political matters. The following extracts from some of these, and from a letter of Mrs. Emmet (who is still living), will be read with interest. It is only to be regretted that so few documents or papers of his own are in existence, or available for the purpose of drawing up a memoir of this kind. The late Mr. Sampson from this circumstance was deterred from undertaking the task which had been assigned to him by some of Emmet's associates, namely, of writing his life. Whether the author has done ill or well in not suffering such records of the career and character of Emmet as were in existence when the task was undertaken by him, to perish, remains to be determined. One thing he is certain of, that those with whom he was in communication on this subject, of all men then living, were best qualified to speak of the early career of Emmet, of his conduct not only in private life, but in that body of which he was one of the executive leaders. One of the most distinguished

of these persons has followed Emmet to the grave in America, since the period of these communications with him; others elsewhere, with whom the author was acquainted, have dropped off one by one in quick succession during the last nine years.

Emmet's correspondence with Mr. Rufus King, in 1807, in which the characteristics of his mind are exhibited in a clearer light than any other of his letters which have fallen under the author's observations, will be found preceding the extracts from his other letters.

Letter of T. A. Emmet, dated April 9, 1807, addressed to Mr. Rufus King, in reference to the communication of that gentleman, when American minister at the court in London, to one of the Irish state prisoners, of which the following is a copy:—

"*Brighton, August 23rd*, 1799.

"Sir,—I ought to inform you, *that I really have no authority* to give or refuse permission to you or any other foreigner to go to the United States, the admission and residence of strangers in that country being a matter that, by a late law,* exclusively belongs to the President. It is true that the government of this country, in the course of the last year, *in consequence of my interference*, gave me assurance that a particular description of persons in Ireland, who it was understood were going to the United States, should *not* be allowed to proceed without *our* consent: this restraint would doubtless be withdrawn in favour of individuals against whose emigration *I*

* The Alien Law.

should not object; and I conclude, that it is upon this supposition, that you have taken the trouble to communicate to me your desire to go and reside in the United States. Without presuming to form an opinion on the subject of the late disturbances in Ireland, I entertain a distinct one in relation to the political situation of my own country. In common with others, we have felt the influence of the changes that have successively taken place in France, and unfortunately a portion of our inhabitants has erroneously supposed that our civil and political institutions, as well as our national policy, might be improved by a close imitation of France. This opinion, the propagation of which was made the duty and became the chief employment of the French agents residing among us, created a more considerable division among our people, and required a greater watchfulness and activity from the government, than could beforehand have been apprehended.

"I am sorry to make the remark, and shall stand in need of your candour in doing so, that a large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland, and especially in the middle states, has, upon this occasion, arranged themselves on the side of the *malcontents.* I ought to except from this remark most of the enlightened and well-educated Irishmen who reside among us, and, with a few exceptions, I might confine it to the indigent and illiterate, who, entertaining an attachment to freedom, are unable to appreciate those salutary restraints without which it degenerates into anarchy. It would be injustice to say that the Irish emigrants are more national than those of other countries, yet

being a numerous, though very minor portion of our population, they are capable, from causes it is needless now to explain, of being generally brought to act in concert, and, under artful leaders, may be, as they have been, enlisted in mischievous combinations against our government. This view leads me to state to you without reserve, the hesitation that I have felt in your case; on the one hand, we cannot object to the acquisition of inhabitants from abroad, possessing capital and skill in a branch of business that, with due caution, may, without risk or difficulty, and with public as well as private advantage, be established among us; but, on the other hand, if the opinions of such inhabitants are likely to throw them into the class of malcontents, their fortune, skill, and consequent influence, would make them tenfold more dangerous, and they might become a disadvantage instead of a benefit to our country. You must be sensible that I possess no sufficient means of forming an opinion respecting your sentiments; but the motives which lead me to interfere with your Government to restrain the emigration of the persons above alluded to, oblige me to observe a due caution on the present occasion; at the same time, I desire not to act with illiberality, and should be unwilling to bring upon my country the slightest imputation of inhospitality. What Mr. Wilson* has written, so far as it goes, is satisfactory, and on the whole, I have concluded, after this unreserved communication, which I hope will be received with the same candour as

* The American consul in Dublin.

it is made, to inform you, authorising you to make use of the information, that I withdraw every objection that may be supposed to stand in the way of your being permitted to go to the United States, adding only that you may carry with you an unbiassed mind, may find the state of the country, as I believe you will, favourable to your views of business, and its government deserving your attachment.

"I must beg your excuse for the great delay which has occurred in sending you this answer, which, I assure you, has risen from other causes than the want of due respect to your letters.

"With great consideration,
"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
"RUFUS KING."

TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

"Sir,—From certain paragraphs in the *Evening Post*, I apprehend that it may become necessary for me to obtrude myself on the public. As in that event I should wish to derive some credit from the character of my adversary, I request to be informed whether you purpose submitting to the world any explanation of your interference with the British Government, respecting the Irish state prisoners in the year 1798.

"I put the question in this way, because I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with you, because I intend that every thing which may pass between you and me on this subject shall be public, and because I have been informed that private appli-

cations for an explanation of that transaction have been heretofore made to you by some of my fellow sufferers from your conduct, and that you did not think fit to favour them with a reply.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

"*New York, April* 4, 1807.

TO RUFUS KING, ESQ.

"SIR,—From your silence on the subject of my letter of the 4th inst., I presume that I am not to be honoured with a reply. Perhaps this may be owing to my temerity in addressing him whom Mr. Coleman calls 'the first man in the country.' Of the height to which your friends exalt, or wish to exalt you, I confess I was not aware when I rashly ventured to question the propriety of some part of your past conduct. I thought that, in this country, you had many equals; and I protest I imagined that Mr. Jefferson, for instance, was your superior. You will, sir, however, I hope, excuse my ignorance in this respect, and attribute it to the circumstance of my being an alien, and of course not yet sufficiently acquainted with the local politics of this country.

"Though you, sir, have not honoured me with your notice, I have been abundantly honoured by your friends; and yet extraordinary as it may appear, I mean to pay little attention to their assiduities, but to envelope myself in dignity like your own. As far as they have attempted to attack my

character, I shall leave it to be defended by others, or rather to defend itself. Not that I affect to be insensible of the value of public opinion, but in truth, sir, in the present pressure of professional business, I have not time to do justice both to you and to myself; and I think it of infinitely more importance to the community, in the existing crisis, to make known what you are, than what I am. You are the candidate for public favour, and your conduct is the proper subject of public inquiry. Permit me, however, sir, before I enter upon that interesting topic, to make a few general observations touching myself. Mr. Coleman has brought forward some extracts from the reports of the secret committee in Ireland; I think it more than probable that he was not himself in possession of these documents—from whom then did he receive them? There is no person in this country more likely to have them, than the gentleman who was at the time the resident minister at London. When you handed them to him, perhaps your memory might have served you to state, that as soon as those reports appeared in the public prints, Dr. Macneven, Mr. O'Connor, and myself, at that time state prisoners, by an advertisement to which we subscribed our names, protested against the falsehood and inaccuracy of those reports; for which act we were remitted to close custody in our rooms for upwards of three months, and a proposal was made in the Irish House of Commons, by Mr. M'Naughten, an Orangeman, to take us out and hang us without trial! You might, also, perhaps, have recollected (for it has been published)

that, while we were in this situation, other state calumnies accidentally reached the ears of one of our fellow-sufferers in another prison, who wrote a letter to the editor of the *Courier* in London, for the purpose of contradicting them, and enclosed a copy of his letter to Lord Castlereagh. Upon this Mr. Secretary Cooke was sent to inform him, that if he published the contradiction, he should be hanged; to that he replied he was ready to meet the event; upon which Mr. Cooke told him, that since he was indifferent about his own life, he must know that, if he persevered, the whole system of courts martial, massacre, and horror, should be renewed throughout the country. By that menace he was effectually restrained.

" Had you thought of mentioning those things, you might have jocularly added that though these statements might serve some present party purposes, it was rather more unfair to judge of us by the calumnies of the Irish government, than it would be to judge of Mr. Jefferson and his friends by the editorial articles in the *Evening Post*. The weapons you are using have been tried in Ireland among my friends and my enemies, where every thing was minutely known, and they failed of effect. If I had ever done any thing mean or dishonourable, if I had abandoned or compromised my character, my country or my cause, I should not be esteemed and beloved in Ireland, as I am proud to know I am; I should not enjoy the affection and respect of my republican countrymen in America, as you, sir, and your friends confess I do. It would not be in the power of one

who had departed from the line of his duty in theirs and his common country, by simply expressing to them his sentiments of you, to do you such an essential injury as I am accused of having committed.

"Another charge made against me, is that I am an alien, interfering in the politics of this country. Be it so for a moment, and let me ask why is it that I am an alien in this my adopted country at this day? Because, in consequence of your interference, I was prevented from coming to it in 1798, and from being naturalized upwards of three years ago. Supposing then that I should refrain from intermeddling with politics in every other case, where you are concerned, I feel myself authorized to exercise the rights of a citizen as far as by law I may; for you know it is an established rule of equity and good sense, that no man shall be benefited by his own wrong. But how do I come forward? Not as a citizen, but as a witness. Allow me to ask you, if I possessed a knowledge of facts which could prove Mr. Jefferson guilty of a robbery or a cheat, and unfit to be trusted with power, would you think me culpable if, notwithstanding my alienage, I made them known to the public, to prevent their being deceived and misled? And shall I not be permitted, because, in consequence of your very misconduct, I am not a citizen, to testify to facts which will prove you unfit to be intrusted in this country with any kind of delegated power? Whether Peter Porcupine or Mr. Carpenter ever went through the forms of naturalization, I know not; but perhaps they might

both be safely considered as aliens, and yet I have never heard any of your friends censure their interference in the politics of America. I do not mention those gentlemen as my models, nor propose their example as my vindication, but I wish to show the pliability of those principles which are to be erected into a barrier against me.

"As a witness, then, sir, I come forward to testify, not to my countrymen, but to the electors of this city, to the whole of the United States, if you should ever aspire to govern them, and I now present you with my evidence.

"In the summer of 1798, after the attempt of the people of Ireland for their emancipation had been completely defeated; after every armed body had been dispersed or had surrendered, except a few men that had taken refuge in the mountains of Wicklow; while military tribunals, house-burnings, shootings, torture, and every kind of devastation were desolating and overwhelming the defenceless inhabitants, some of the state prisoners then in confinement, entered into a negotiation with the Irish ministers for effecting a general amnesty; and, as an inducement, offered, among other things not necessary to the examination of your conduct, to emigrate to such country as might be agreed upon between them and the Government. When I consented to this offer, for one, (and it was the case with the great majority,) I solemnly declare that I was perfectly apprised that there were no legal grounds discovered upon which to proceed against me. I further knew that the crown solicitor had, in answer to the inquiries

of my friends, informed them that there was no intention of preferring a bill of indictment against me. So much for the personal considerations by which I might have been actuated; and now, sir, to return.

"The offer was accepted, the bloody system was stopped for a time, and was not renewed until after your interference, and after the British ministry had resolved openly to break its faith with us. On our part, we performed our stipulations with the most punctilious fidelity, but in such a manner as to preserve to us the warmest approbation of our friends, and to excite the greatest dissatisfaction in our enemies. Government soon perceived, that on the score of interest, it had calculated badly, and had gained nothing by the contract. It was afraid of letting us go at large to develope and detect the misrepresentations and calumnies that were studiously set afloat, and had therefore, I am convinced, determined to violate its engagements, by keeping us prisoners as long as possible. How was this to be done? In the commencement of our negotiation, Lord Castlereagh declared, as a reason for our acceding to Government's possessing a negative on our choice, that it had no worse place in view for our emigration than the United States of America. We had made our election to go there, and called upon him to have our agreement carried into execution. In that difficulty, you, sir, afforded very effectual assistance to the faithlessness of the British cabinet. On the 16th of September, Mr. Marsden, then under secretary, came to inform us that Mr. King had remon-

strated against our being permitted to emigrate to America. This astonished us all, and Dr. Macneven very plainly said that he considered this as a mere trick between Mr. King and the British Government. This Mr. Marsden denied, and on being pressed to know what reason Mr. King could have for preventing us, who were avowed republicans, from emigrating to America, he significantly answered, 'Perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America.' Your interference was then, sir, made the pretext of detaining us for four years in custody, by which very extensive and useful plans of settlement within these states were broken up. The misfortunes which you brought upon the objects of your persecution were incalculable. Almost all of us wasted four of the best years of our lives in prison. As to me, I should have brought along with me my father and his family, including a brother, whose name perhaps you even will not read without emotions of sympathy and respect. Others nearly connected with me would have come partners in my emigration. But all of them have been torn from me. I have been prevented from saving a brother, from receiving the dying blessings of a father, mother, and sister, and from soothing their last agonies by my cares; and this, sir, by your unwarrantable and unfeeling interference.

"Your friends, when they accuse me of want of moderation in my conduct towards you, are wonderfully mistaken. They do not reflect, or know, that I have never spoken of you without suppressing (as I do now) personal feelings that rise up within me, and

swell my heart with indignation and resentment. But I mean to confine myself to an examination of your conduct, as far as it is of public importance.

"The step you took was unauthorized by your own government. Our agreement with that of Ireland was entered into on the 29th of July—your prohibition was notified to us on the 16th of September; deduct seven days for the two communications between Dublin and London, and you had precisely forty-two days, in the calms of summer, for transmitting your intelligence to America and receiving an answer. As you had no order, then, what was the motive of your unauthorized act? I cannot positively say, but I will tell you my conviction. The British ministry had resolved to detain us prisoners contrary to their plighted honour; and you, sir, I fear, lent your ministerial character to enable them to commit an act of perfidy, which they would not otherwise have dared to perpetrate. Whether our conduct in Ireland was right or wrong, you have no justification for yours. The constitution and laws of this country gave you no power to require of the British government that it should violate its faith, and withdraw from us its consent to the place we had fixed upon for our voluntary emigration. Neither the President nor you were warranted to prevent our touching these shores; though the former might, under the alien act, have afterwards sent us away if he had reason to think we were plotting any thing against the United States. I have heard something about the law of nations; but you are too well acquainted with that law not to know that it has no bearing on this

subject. Our emigration was voluntary, and the English government had, in point of justice, no more to do with it than to signify that there was no objection to the place of residence we had chosen.

"Another circumstance which compels me to believe a collusive league between you, in your capacity of resident minister from America, and the cabinet of St. James's, is the very extravagant and unwarrantable nature of your remonstrance, which, had the ministry been sincere towards us, they could not possibly have overlooked. If they had intended to observe their compact, you, sir, would have been very quickly made to feel the futility of your ill-timed application. You would have been taught that it was a matter of mere private arrangement between government and us, with which you had no more to do than the minister of Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, or any other neutral power. What inference ought fairly to be made from the facts I have stated, every man must decide for himself. On me they have forced a conviction, which, if you can shake it, I shall much more gladly forego than I state it here, that in the instance alluded to, you degraded the dignity and independence of the country you represented, you abandoned the principles of its government and its policy, and you became the tool of a foreign state, to give it a colourable pretext for the commission of a crime. If so, is it fit that you should hereafter be intrusted with any kind of delegated authority? What motives you may have had for that conduct, if in truth it was yours, I cannot undertake to say. Mr. Marsden seemed to doubt whether you wished for republicans

in America; and I shrewdly suspect he spoke what the British ministry thought of your politics.

"Perhaps it may be said that you were yourself deceived by those very calumnies of which I have complained. I sincerely wish I could believe that such were the fact—but observe this argument. We contradicted the misstatements of the committees of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, by an advertisement written in prison, signed by our names, and published on the 27th of August: it must have reached London on the 1st or 2nd of September; your remonstrance must have been made on or before the 12th, for it was communicated to us on the 16th. The effect produced by our advertisement was electrical, and the debate which it caused on the very evening of its appearance, in the Irish House of Commons, was remarkable. As you doubtless read the newspapers of the day, these facts could not have been unknown to you. Why then should you be deceived by representations which we had recently contradicted under circumstances so extraordinary? Mr. King, did you enter so deeply into the revolution of your country as to implicate your life in the issue of its fortunes? From the strong attachment of your political friends, I presume you were a distinguished leader in those eventful times; if not, you had certainly read their history. Did you remember the calumnies which had been thrown out by British agents against the most upright and venerable patriots of America? Did you call to mind the treatment which had been given in South Carolina to Governor Gadsden, to General Rutherford, Colonel Isaacs, and

a number of others who had surrendered to that very Lord Cornwallis, with whom, through his ministers, we negotiated; and that those distinguished characters were, in violation of their capitulation and the rights of parole, sent to St. Augustine, as we were afterwards to Fort George? How then is it possible that you could have been a dupe to the misrepresentations of the British government?

"These remarks I address, with all becoming respect, to 'the first man in the country;' yet in fact, sir, I do not clearly see in what consists your superiority over myself. It is true you have been a resident minister at the court of St. James's; and if what I have read in the public prints be true, and if you be apprised of my near relationship and family connexion with the late Sir John Temple, you must acknowledge that your interference as resident minister at the court of St. James's, against my being permitted to emigrate to America, is a very curious instance of the caprice of fortune. But let that pass. To what extent I ought to yield to you for talents and information, is not for me to decide. In no other respect, however, do I feel your excessive superiority. My private character and conduct are, I hope, as fair as yours; and even in those matters which I consider as trivial, but upon which aristocratic pride is accustomed to stamp a value, I should not be inclined to shrink from competition. My birth certainly will not humble me by the comparison; my paternal fortune was probably much greater than yours; the consideration in which the name I bear was held in my native country, was as great as yours is ever likely to be,

before I had an opportunity of contributing to its celebrity. As to the amount of what private fortune I have been able to save from the wreck of calamity, it is unknown to you or to your friends; but two things I will tell you—I never was indebted, either in the country from which I came, nor in any other in which I have lived, to any man, further than the necessary credit for the current expenses of a family; and am not so circumstanced that I should tremble '*for my subsistence*' at the threatened displeasure of your friends. So much for the past and the present—now for the future. Circumstances which cannot be controlled have decided that my name must be embodied into history. From the manner in which even my political adversaries, and some of my cotemporary historians, unequivocally hostile to my principles, already speak of me, I have the consolation of reflecting, that when the falsehoods of the day are withered and rotten, I shall be respected and esteemed. You, sir, will probably be forgotten, when I shall be remembered with honour; or if, peradventure, your name should descend to posterity, perhaps you will be known only as the recorded instrument of part of *my* persecutions, sufferings, and misfortunes.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

"*New York, April* 9, 1807."*

* Pieces of Irish History, p. 235.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET, TO PETER BURROWES.

"*New York*, 19*th Nov.* 1806.

"I sincerely rejoice, my good friend, that promotion has fallen on your head,* and those of some others where, I think, it is well bestowed. However, there are in the list of promotions, men of whom I never wish to think; because I cannot think of them without the strongest emotions of aversion and disgust—strong and warm as was my former friendship.

"In the conclusion of your letter, you ask a question which, if I did not know the occasional absence of your thoughts, would have caused me much speculation.

"'Do you ever mean to visit us?' says an influential officer of the government of Ireland to a proscribed exile, whose return would be death by law, 'or to send over any of your children?' A man who was very anxious to return would catch at this offer; but that is not my case. I am settled here with the fairest prospects for myself and my children. My principles and my sufferings were my first passport and introduction here, and they procured me the effective friendship of the leading characters in this state and in the Union at large. In proportion as I cherish those principles, I am respected; and every day's reflection and observation makes them dearer to me. Ought I

* He was appointed First Counsel to the Commissioners of Revenue, under Mr. Fox's administration, in 1806; not a permanent situation, but at that time a lucrative one.

to go where they are treasonable and sufficient ground for perpetual proscription? Besides, my good friend, I am too proud, when vanquished, to assist by my presence in gracing the triumph of the victor; and with what feelings should I tread on Irish ground? as if I were walking over graves, and those the graves of my nearest relations and dearest friends. No; I can never wish to be in Ireland, except in such a way as none of my old friends connected with the government could wish to see me placed in. As to my children, I hope they will love liberty too much ever to fix a voluntary residence in an enslaved country. Nothing in their future prospects gives me greater pain than the fear that my eldest boy will be obliged, when he comes of age, to go to Ireland, to dispose of some settled property, which, if I were worth a few thousand dollars more, I should wish rather in the hands of my greatest enemy than his. There is not now in Ireland an individual that bears the name of Emmet. I do not wish that there ever should while it is connected with England, and yet it will perhaps be remembered in its history.

"With the very sincerest and warmest esteem, believe me,

"Ever yours,

"T. A. EMMET." *

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET.

New York, July 11, 1807.

"Though our correspondence has never gone to any length, it is not for want of the sincerest affec-

* Life and Times of Henry Grattan, Vol. iv.

tion on both sides; but I have devolved my duties on Jane, and you on your mother.

"The first wish you and your mother can have, is to know how we all are,—extremely well. Jane and I blessed with ten as fine and lovely children as are to be found in the state of New York. Parental prejudice and affection aside, I know of no such family any where. Those you have never seen are at least equal to those with whom you are acquainted, and the latter very much improved. As to my business, you may probably have apprehended that the extraordinary commotion respecting me, excited on the last election, and of which Jane wrote some account in her last, would have injured me professionally; but the reverse has been the fact, and I have enjoyed as much pleasure as I could derive from overthrowing Mr. Rufus King in his country, for his conduct to me and my fellow prisoners in our own; and with that, I have had the infinitely higher gratification of having most essentially contributed to the complete, and I hope conclusive triumph of principle here, and that the importance of my services are known and appreciated. Accompanying this letter you will receive a book which has been just published by Macneven, and originated in the wish of refuting the calumnies to which that election gave rise. It will scarcely find a printer hardy enough to republish it in the British dominions; but if there should be one, I should be very glad if it were first carefully perused, as it is very incorrectly printed, and not half the errata noticed. I have been making purchases, part of the price of which is payable by instalments

yearly. I have laid out all that I drew from Ireland, and more, and have 2500 dollars a year to pay for the next three years."

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM T. A. EMMET.

"*New York, May 23*, 1808.

"In point of success, neither the flattery of my friends, nor my own personal vanity, ever led me to anticipate my good fortune here. It is true, a lawyer's means here for accumulating a fortune by his profession, are not such as in England or Ireland; neither does he feel entirely the same necessity of making one for the establishment of his children, to whom, with a good education and good dispositions, so many pursuits are open; but such as is the field, many would tell you I am at the head of it. That is, however, not the fact. Several make much more than I do; or could do, with their quantity of business; but my reputation is as high, and my employment very sufficient.

"This letter will go under the care of my old friend Henry Jackson, who has obtained permission to return, and means to use it, as he says, for the purpose of winding up his and Mrs. Bond's affairs, and bringing her out with him, in the course of a year. This, I am sure, is his wish; but he carries with him a daughter, who will thwart him in that respect to the utmost of her power; and, I apprehend, may succeed in causing him to spend the remainder of his days pitifully and uncomfortably in Ireland."

"*New York, July 29th*, 1820.

"It is so long since you have heard from me, and so very long since you have written to me, that you will probably be somewhat surprised at the receipt of this letter; but I am extremely unwilling that any indolence or punctilios should stop our intercourse. Your sister cannot be but very desirous to hear of you, and from you, although she has, for many years, totally given up all letter-writing; and if you can judge rightly, you will be convinced that no one can take a warmer interest in your welfare than I do. I, then, commence a new score with you, in the hope that, if you will not pay off your old epistolary arrears, you will, at least, not contract new debts of that nature.

"Do, then, write us all you can about yourself, and as much as you please about the other members of the family. As to my own affairs in Ireland, I confess I am very anxious to see the state of them clearly. The practice of my profession has enabled me to live genteelly and respectably, and to educate my children so far; but as to accumulating property for them, every effort of that kind on my part has been, I fear, frustrated for ever by the dreadful depreciation of land in the neighbourhood of this city; and I tremble to think of the situation in which they would be placed if any accident were to happen to me, of which, thank God, there is no present appearance. But this unfortunate change in the value of what I hoped would have constituted something not inconsiderable to their support hereafter makes me

more desirous to ascertain exactly what is the situation of whatever I might look to in Ireland, and of whatever might come against it.

"You will be desirous of knowing something of our family and fireside. Your sister has had many years of delicate health and of nervous spells and anxious hours; but I am happy to think she is not getting worse, and on the whole is, I think, improving. Robert is married, lives in the house with us, and has two lovely boys. He is settled in the law, and would have very good practice if the profession could at present be said to afford any. Tom, also, is a lawyer, and living with me, though his office is different; as he is a bachelor, and with few expenses, he pays his way, and will I hope do better. Elizabeth is married to Mr. Le Roy, and in every sense of the word *well.* She has got a fine fellow in mind and disposition; one of the handsomest young men in the city, and perhaps the most respectable connexion in it, with every prospect of wealth and happiness; but she is going to settle nearly 400 miles from us. Temple is on the ocean in the U. S. ship *Columbus*, and at present in the Mediterranean. From his roving life, you may one day see him, and unless he should materially change, I am sure you will like him. The rest of the family are still on my hands. John, after spending a year in Italy for his health, is returned home, and with a constitution I hope improved and confirmed; he is studying physic, and has made no inconsiderable progress in chemistry. He is very highly thought of by those who know him, and from the nature of his pursuits and occupa-

tions, and his manner of following them, very frequently reminds his mother of you. The girls are accomplished and well informed, and as they would adorn, so I hope they will be happy in any situation.

"THOMAS ADDIS EMMET."

FROM MRS. EMMET.

"*New York, (no date.)*

"After the hopes I had indulged in of seeing you, I commence my letter with feelings of regret not easily shaken off. The prospect of your being an inmate in our family has long been cherished as an event that, of all others, could afford us the greatest happiness. We now feel the disappointment doubly. In urging you to come to America, our own gratification is not the first object, as that would be defeated if you were not happy here; but I am well convinced the exchange would every way add to your comfort. I know the effect that painful recollections produce upon the mind, and I often think that were I obliged to remain in Ireland, my life would be miserable. A day cannot pass that some event—some object, is not likely to awaken unpleasant ideas. Are you then to look for cheerfulness there? does not health almost depend upon ease of mind? Indeed, my dear, you can enjoy neither where you are. A change of scene, not among strangers, but into the midst of a large and affectionate family, so tenderly attached to you, what different feelings would it not excite! Of Mr. Emmet I need say but little; you know his disposition; it remains unchanged; always diffusing happiness among his family and friends. In his

society you could seldom feel weary. Thank God his health is now invariably good, and his reputation such as to leave no wish ungratified. The young people I know you would like. I can answer for their hearts and their feelings towards you: it would be the first object of their lives to contribute to your happiness. * *

"JANE EMMET."

CHAPTER X.

THE Irish exiles who established themselves in America kept up a kindly intercourse amongst themselves. Some of their children intermarried, and thus the remembrance of the old ties by which the fathers were bound together were kept up and sustained by new relations. In New York this pleasing result was especially worthy of observation. The Emmets, the Macnevens, the Sampsons, the Wilsons, the Chambers, the Traynors, formed a little Irish community; and by their private conduct, no less than by the consistency of their public principles, upheld their character and that of their country. Emmet's second son married the daughter of Macneven; Tone's only son married the daughter of Sampson; Chambers' daughter was married to Calwell. Macneven, at the period of the author's first visit to New York, was residing in that city, a physician of high repute, the father of a family that he had reason to be proud of; and whether as a medical practitioner, an able and accomplished scholar, a man of philosophic mind, of the strictest morality, both as regarded his political principles and private conduct, no man

stood higher in the estimation of his friends and of the community at large.

Sampson was then broken down in health, in the last stage of dropsy; but still in the full possession of his faculties.

The widow of Sampson and her daughter, Mrs. Tone, women worthy in every respect of the names they bear, are still residing in New York. Traynor, the ship-builder, of Poolpeg-street, Dublin, whose extraordinary escape from the prévôt, in the Castle, in 1798, excited so much wonder, was enjoying the fruits of an industrious career on the banks of the Hudson. John Chambers, the stationer, of Abbey-street, was residing in New York, holding some public appointment. This venerable old man died about 1837. The son of Hugh Wilson (who died at Santa Cruz in 1829) is associated in professional business with Mr. Thomas Emmet, and is now commencing his career with the character for "honour and honesty" (not in Castlereagh's sense of these terms) which his upright father bequeathed to him. Nicholas Gray, the adjutant-general of B. B. Harvey, the commander-in-chief at the battle of New Ross, was no longer "trailing the puissant pike." When the author last heard of him, he was "driving the quill" (to use his own words) in a situation in Hudson, obtained for him by "the great and good Mr. Emmet," on whose bounty he acknowledged he and his family had subsisted on their first arrival in the country. The two Binns (though not Irishmen, may be mentioned as connected with the Society of United Irishmen); one, the secretary of the London Corre-

sponding Society, who was tried at Maidstone in 1798, along with Arthur O'Connor, is now an alderman of the Philadelphia Corporation; the other, an active United Irishman, well acquainted with the Wexford movement, was converted into a tranquil citizen in easy circumstances; whose conduct is an exemplification of the maxim, that "in peace nothing so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility." William Paulett Carey, whose paper was the organ of the Volunteers in 1782, and of the United Irishmen in 1794-5, the author of the "Vindiciæ Hibernicæ," has been many years gathered (though not to his fathers,) but his sons were settled in Philadelphia, where they probably still are, the Longmans of America.

Henry Jackson, the iron-founder, settled in Pennsylvania, purchased some land there, but got tired of the country and went to Baltimore, where he lived with his daughter, Mrs. Bond, and died there several years ago. Mr. Bond had two sons; one returned to England, the other remained in America, became a merchant in New York, but was not very successful. Mrs. Bond returned to England, and visited Ireland. During her short stay in Dublin, one Mr. James Farrel, a brewer of Blackpitts, Dublin, who was extremely desirous to parade his loyalty, thought Mrs. Bond's re-appearance in Dublin a favourable occasion for making an exhibition of it at the expense of the widow of a brother merchant, who was a reputed traitor. Mr. Farrel, however, paid dearly for the effort; Mrs. Bond brought an action against him for having represented her as having given a treasonable toast in a public com-

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HENRY JACKSON.

From an original Drawing by Herbert.

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pany, and the jury returned a verdict for Bond's widow, against the rich Catholic brewer. To this lady's credit, during her short stay in Ireland, her duty to her husband's memory was not forgotten by her, and to it she erected a handsome monument in Church-street. She returned again to America, where she is now residing.

John Cormick went first to New York, had one daughter married to Mr. Barth. Egan, of Virginia, a member of Congress. Cormick, soon after his arrival in America, bought an estate and slaves in one of the southern states. (This was carrying out the principles of the United Irishmen with a vengeance!) His wife remained in Ireland, and in 1806, by mutual consent, a formal separation took place. He married again; his second wife was a French woman, by whom he had one son, distinguished for his talents at the bar. Mrs. Cormick, at his death, married Mr. Roe, of Dublin, a distiller, and is still living.

The sons of Porter, the presbyterian clergyman, the neighbour of Lord Londonderry, who was executed in front of his meeting-house, with the view of conciliating the congregation, by whom he was beloved, were occupying high stations in their adopted country. One, a member of the senate, a judge of the supreme court of Louisiana; the other, attorney-general of the same state. Dr. White, a member of the northern directory, was residing in Baltimore, eminently successful in his profession. And lastly, the sons of Emmet, sustaining the character of their father's worth, pursued the same

profession, and followed the same honourable path of public and private virtue. The memory of their father is still living in the hearts of the people among whom his lot was cast. Fortunately for him and for his family, when the misgovernment of Ireland bereaved his country "of that integrity which should become it," in turning his face towards the transatlantic Antium, he could say, "There is a world elsewhere."

The widow of Emmet is still living in New York. This lady's maiden name was Patten; she was the daughter of the Rev. John Patten, a presbyterian clergyman, who died in Clonmell in 1789. In January, 1791, she married T. A. Emmet, and in 1820, was the mother of ten children. When she accompanied her husband to America, two of the sons, John and Thomas, were left behind in the charge of their grandmother, and were sent out to America in the month of March, 1805. Two of the sons, who had grown up to manhood, died in the United States; Temple about 1822, who entered the American navy at an early period, and John in 1842, who had been brought up to the medical profession under the care of Dr. Macneven, and became professor of chemistry in the university of Virginia. This young man lived long enough to earn a reputation in science worthy of his name; he was a constant contributor to the American scientific journals. The eldest son, Robert, was brought up to the profession of the law, and has risen to considerable eminence in it; he fills the office of law adviser to the corporation of New York, a very lucrative post.

Thomas, the second son, who married the step daughter of Dr. Macneven, was, likewise, brought up to the legal profession, and is a master in chancery. Margaret, the eldest daughter, never married. Elizabeth married Mr. Le Roy; Marianna, Mr. Graves; both of these gentlemen rank among the first merchants in New York. Jane Erin, born at Fort George, married Mr. M'Iver, and we believe is still living.

The sister of T. A. Emmet married Mr. Robert Holmes, a distinguished barrister, in the latter part of 1799 or beginning of 1800; this amiable and accomplished lady died about 1804, leaving one daughter, who married a few years ago a Mr. Cunningham. Mrs. Holmes shared in the talents which seemed to be hereditary in her family. At the time that the projected union was exciting general interest, two very remarkable pamphlets appeared which were ascribed to her, one of which, called "An address to the people of Ireland, showing them why they ought to submit to an Union," published in 1799, there is no doubt of having been written by her.

This pamphlet is written with very great power, and its mode of *advocating* the Union may be gathered from its motto:—

"Of comfort no man speak;
"Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs."
SHAKESPEARE.

The design of this extraordinary production is to expose to the people the true character of the new-born patriotism of such men as John Claudius Beresford, the right hon. John Foster, Lord Kingsborough, Lord Cole, Colonel Barry, Messrs.

Whaley, Saurin, Vereker, and Bagwell, many of whom were then (in 1799) redhot "patriots," who, in the year following, were not ashamed to sell their country, but thankful to Providence (as one of them had the candour to acknowledge) that they had a country to sell. We have spoken of this pamphlet as an extraordinary production; a few extracts from it will show that the term has not been misapplied. The reader will please to remember that it was written forty-four years ago.

"Who could have foreseen, and by whom would it have been believed, that patriotism, longsuffering, much reviled, and much calumniated patriotism, driven from the Northern coast to seek refuge on the sea-beaten wilds of the West—pursued, wherever it could be traced, by extermination—branded, wherever it rose, with infamy—and marked, wherever it was met, for destruction—that spirit against which every hand of power was raised, which, like the troubled dove, could find no place on which to fix its feet, on which to rest its wing,—should seek and should find a sanctuary in the great chair of the House of Commons, and animate the declamation of the opposition.

"Accustomed as I have been to consider Parliament not as the sanctuary of patriotism, the adoption of the name does not bring conviction to my mind that they are animated by the spirit, and I warn my countrymen to beware of the delusion. You are called on to oppose this Union, and to preserve your rights. Now, I ask the men who call on you, what rights you have to support? I ask Parliament what

right *they* have not wrested from you? They adjure you to support the constitution. Alas! for that constitution, originally a shadow, now embodied a substance of corruption. You are called upon to resist, *what?* Not *oppression*, it has been *protected.* Not *injustice*, it has been *legalised.* Not *cruelty*, it has been *indemnified.* You are called on to resist an Union. You are called upon to oppose an incorporation, by which you are to lose—a name.

"If I am to bend to the altar of British supremacy, if I am to wear the chains of everlasting slavery, it matters not to me whether I wear them as an Irishman, or a West Briton. It matters not to me whether my fetters are forged in East or West Britain; if I am to receive the essence, I will not war about the form in which it is presented to me. If you had one right unalienated, I, too, would say to you, while the life blood flowed from my heart in defence of that right — never submit to an Union — never, never, never.

"Is it for the Convention, the Insurrection, and the Indemnity Acts, that you are to resist the annihilation of the Parliament which passed them? While those bills stand recorded on their journals Parliament ought to know that the country cannot dread their extinction. And if the minister of England wishes to use any argument but military force, for the accomplishment of this measure, let him present that statute book to the people, and ask them—'Why should you wish the duration of this Parliament? do you not feel that I am omnipotent in it? are not my mandates written *here in blood*?'

"If the Parliament meant fairly by the people, if they wished to gain their confidence, or to deserve it, they would expunge from their records those acts which must for ever blast confidence, and destroy hope. They would say to the people, 'Countrymen, we are men, and we are weak—we have injured you, most deeply, most fatally—we were placed here to protect, and we have destroyed you; but we will repair that injury, we will revoke that destruction —we here repeal, in the face of our country, that code which the barbarous prejudices of our ancestors instituted—we repeal, too, that code which our own sanguinary policy framed—we return into your hands the power which you delegated to us; purify it, regulate, and restrict it, and, from the sovereignty of the people, if the people wills it, we will again receive it. Parliament of Ireland, act thus, and the people *will* oppose an Union—expunge from your statutes those sanguinary proscriptions, and a generous people will erase from their remembrance the recollection that they ever existed — from their bosoms, the feelings which they have excited. Do this, and you will stand; if you do not, you sink?

"The people see that the minister may be defeated; they see that those very laws, which are enforced against them, are nugatory against the higher orders; they see the Convention Bill infringed by the very men who framed it, and county meetings called universally under the auspices of members of Parliament.

"If great men have a right to call county meetings, to express their disapprobation of one measure, have not poor men a right to call them, to express

their wishes for another? Are laws only binding when they are to restrict a people from stating their grievances, from demanding redress? County meetings ought to be called, the people ought to instruct their representatives to examine into their grievances, —to redress them; to frame a parliamentary reform, on the broad principles of immutable justice and universal franchise; they ought to instruct them to address the King, to withdraw his foreign troops, only retained here to intimidate and extirpate. *

"I shall not enter into a discussion of the merits or justice of the measure; in my mind, there can be but one opinion as to its justice, and but one argument for its adoption, necessity. If I was inclined to oppose an Union, it should be with the speech of the English minister, in which I cannot find one argument in favour of it, save that one, to the potency of which I bow, *force*. *

"As long as foreign troops are spread over your country, as long as they swarm in your capital, trust me an Union is not relinquished; trust me, it is the intention to dragoon you into the acceptance of it; and as long as you, legislators of the land, permit, without representation or complaint, force and illegality to stalk triumphant through your streets, you cannot wonder if the people doubt your sincerity, and feel an indifference about your existence. *

"Nor shall I dwell more on the advantages which are to accrue to this country from an Union, than I have done on the justice of the measure; nor do I believe that one advantage will result from it, or from any other convention between Ireland and

Great Britian, which the English minister proposes, and which the English mercantile interest approves of: no convention or community of interests ever will be equitably conducted where both parties are not equally able to assert their own rights, and to resist the innovations, or injustice, of the other. * I beg my countrymen not to suppose that I think the measure a good one; no—but I know it to be inevitable. I beg them not to suppose that I place the smallest reliance on the promises of equity, and disinterestedness of the minister. No—but I know that we cannot either reject the measure, or insist on the performance of the treaty; I know that our part of it will be signed, and most strictly performed, and that the English part of it will be filled up, how and when it suits the interest of the minister. As to the justice we are to meet, it will be like that which is shown to a child by the guardian who wrests his all from him, while he tells him, 'I will make you happy,' and gives the child a whistle, or a cake. The boy may feel that he is injured, but he must *then* submit.

"It is said by one party, that Cork will be advantaged, and by the other, that Dublin will be injured. In the great scale of national interest, it appears to me of little importance whether Cork or Dublin is to be the richest city. *

"As to the argument, that Dublin would be ruined, they must be miserably ignorant of the state of Dublin, who suppose that the reign of ruin would then commence; who do not know that ruin has been long an inmate of that capital. Let them seek

the haunts of ruin; they will find her, not merely destroying edifices, they will find her destroying man! They will see her consuming the habitation and the inhabitant! Let them contemplate the ravages of desolation in every mansion of misery in their liberties and their suburbs, and they will perhaps feel, as I do now, that it is not the destruction of stone and lime which is to be deprecated, it is the destruction, the unalloyed, unobserved destruction of the human species, which ought to be lamented! *

"Should this ruin come, it will but assimilate the glaring distinctions of the city into one mass. Splendour will no longer rise in the vicinity of wretchedness, nor misery curse the unfeeling luxury which mocks its hopelessness! It has been a misfortune to this country that abundance and want have constantly come into contact; they have met with mutual defiance—they have parted with mutual distrust.

"With respect to another objection, that the seminary of instruction would be destroyed, I declare in my conscience, I do not think that if Trinity College, its learning, its illiberality, its prejudices, and its venality were all sunk together, the country would be injured by it. If from its extinction I could see arise the simple principle of—Do justice, and love mercy, I feel that my country would gain. It is not science I would wish to destroy, it is not learning that I would wish to limit; but I would wish science to be accompanied with liberality, and learning with humility. *

"I would beg the people to remember that it is the wish of the minister to have them in a state of

insurrection, that he may have a pretext for this measure; it was his wish to have them driven into insurrection before; it was his command to goad them into it, and hence the system of unparalleled cruelties which we have witnessed, and from which I trust my countrymen have learned to detest cruelty. * It was equally the wish of the friends of the country to keep the people from commotion, as it was that of the minister to bring them to it; both felt that partial insurrection must be as injurious to the country as advantageous to the minister. Insurrection has been one of the favourite measures of that man; he has tried it in France; he has attempted it in Holland; and he effected it in Ireland; steering wide, in his political career, of every principle of avowed and understood policy, he astonishes and awes, bewilders and leads a fascinated people. Minister of England, you are a great man! while I detest your principles, and deprecate your measures, I admire your abilities. For fifteen years you have ruled Great Britain—you have converted a fluctuating and delicate situation into a certain and critical one—you have blinded a selfish nation to their own interest, and led them on their own destruction—you have paralyzed, or energized all Europe—you have sent liberty to the Asiatic and the Indian—you have persecuted the spirit, and the genius has arisen to avenge the persecution——wherever the name of Pitt and the fetters of slavery have gone, the genius of emancipation has followed. You have conceived uncommon designs, you have attempted them, and they have failed. Man of immeasureable talents, why have you not learned that

rectitude would have assisted you? why has not your policy taught you sometimes to appear to feel like a man? and why has not your reason detected the fallacy of your crooked policy? For fifteen years you have held the helm of Britain, you have ruled her with an undivided and absolute authority—you have ruled her ill—you have been to England a bad minister—to Ireland, a destroying spirit—passing over the land with devastation, sparing only those whose thresholds *were marked with blood.* You have sought to precipitate her into the gulf which you have formed for England, and you have overwhelmed her in chaos and confusion. Whether to Ireland is to rise light out of darkness, and order from discord, yet remains with that Providence, whose inscrutable wisdom works good out of evil, and often makes the crimes of men the instruments of good to the species."

In concluding this notice of the family of T. A. Emmet, we cannot omit a circumstance mentioned by his second son Thomas, respecting the arrest of his father. He states that he remembers when his father was taken at the house of Dr. Emmet, in Stephen's-green. What impressed it on his memory was the circumstance of his being suddenly awoke, and his little brother also, who was sleeping with him, and seeing a number of soldiers standing near the window with fixed bayonets presented at them. These military heroes must surely have been of some yeomanry corps, the regulars would have spared the nursery.

This gentleman, the happy father of a fine family

of children, who look as if they were born in a free country, resides at Harlaem, about five miles from New York. His beautiful villa, its garden, its library, the bust of Dr. Emmet, its fellow of Thomas Addis, and an oil painting of the latter by his daughter, call back to the mind of the visitor, the villa of his father at Rathfarnham, described by Tone, where William Tell's imaged exploits were then casting their shadow before the path of Thomas Addis Emmet.

Poor Dr. Emmet and his wife, from the time of the arrest of their son Thomas Addis, gradually sunk under the calamity, which laid the proud hopes of their old age in the dust. They were no longer the same persons. In their appearance, in their conversation, their mode of life consequent on the abandonment of their former enjoyments, the cessation of intercourse with those who formerly were the companions and associates of their imprisoned son, now "all gone, and not a friend to take his fortune by the arm," the change became obvious to the few who proved in the time of their adversity that they were friends indeed in their acts and thoughts, and not in name alone. Dr. Emmet died in the autumn of 1802. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Anne's, in Dawson-street, on the right hand side of the entrance. No monumental stone points out the place where the remains of the father of Temple, Thomas Addis, and Robert Emmet are deposited. Here also the remains of their mother are laid. This poor lady lingered on in life, if the existence, that was a blank to every hope of her's, could be so

called, till the sacrifice of her youngest and her dearest son was on the eve of its completion. She died—mercifully, was it ordained—two or three days before the execution of Robert Emmet. Gracious God! what calamities have the misgovernment of Ireland, and the sway given to the savage spirit of the relentless faction, for whose interest the country has been ruled, brought down on the noblest beings in the land.*

* Substance of the will of Dr. Emmet of Casino, near Miltown, taken from the copy of that document, in the Registrar Office, Henrietta-street, Dublin.

Robert Emmet leaves the lands of Knockena, in the county of Kerry, and the leasehold interest in the land, and house at Miltown, to Thomas Addis Emmet, subject to the appropriation of two thousand pounds, left in trust for Mrs. Emmet, and also the sum of five thousand pounds, the interest on which was to be paid to his "dearly beloved wife, formerly Miss Mason," and a further sum (not specified) to make her income three hundred and sixty pounds a year. At her death the interest of the two thousand pounds was to be paid to Mary Anne Holmes; at her death without issue to devolve to Thomas Addis and Robert in equal shares. The sum of two thousand pounds more on the death of Mrs. Emmet to Robert, and fifteen hundred pounds to the granddaughter of the testator, Catherine Emmet, daughter of Doctor Temple. † Ballydowny, in the county of Kerry, which place was settled on Temple Emmet at the period of his marriage. Thomas Addis Emmet was appointed sole executor; he and Robert the residuary legatees. The will was signed the 3rd of February, 1800.

By a codicil he leaves Robert Emmet two thousand pounds, in addition to the former bequest, and a rent charge payable by Justice Day, of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, to Mrs. Emmet in lieu of the two thousand pounds. The Knockena lease expired before

† Anne Western, the widow of Robert Temple, and wife of Temple Emmet, died in 1794.

The following account of the funeral procession, and the previous proceedings of the Bar, Bench, Common Council, and College of Physicians, in reference to Emmet's death, are taken from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of November 16, 1827, which came too late into our hands for insertion in its proper place.

The procession formed in the following order at the City Hall, and proceeded to the late dwelling of Mr. Emmet:—

High Constable.
Governor and Chancellor.
Former Chancellor.
Present and former Judges of the Supreme Court.
Judges of the United States' Courts.
First Judge of Common Pleas and former Recorders.
Present and former Attorney Generals.
Clerk of County and Clerk of Oyer and Terminer.
Clerks of U. S. Courts and U. S. Marshal.

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his death; some other lands in the county of Tipperary were also devised to the eldest son.* Robert Holmes and Joseph Rawlins were named trustees for Catherine Emmet. The will was registered the 28th of December, 1802, and administration granted the 10th of January, 1803.

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* Thomas Addis Emmet came into possession of the lands of Robeen, in the county Tipperary, at the death of his father, and I find a receipt of his for rent from a Mr. Richard Sadlier, dated 1810, for £144, one year's profit rent out of said lands.

Thomas Addis Emmet possessed also a small property at Stillorgan, the lands of Callery. At the time of his banishment he sold this property to an attorney of the name of Flemming, one of the attorney's corps, distinguished for the burning ardour of his loyalty in 1798. This gentleman, very soon after peace and order were somewhat restored, was transported for forgery.

Clerks of the Supreme Court, and Register in Chancery and Surrogate.
District Attorney and U. S. District Attorney.
Members of the Bar.
Students of Law.
Sheriff.
Mayor and Recorder.
Members of Common Council.
Members of Common Council Elect.

At a Court of General Sessions held at the City Hall of the city of New York, in and for the city and county of New York, on the 16th day of November, 1827,

Present, Richard Riker, Recorder; Jacob B. Taylor, Gideon Ostrander, and Campbell P. White, Esqrs., Aldermen;—

Upon the opening of the Court, the Recorder stated, that it had been announced to the presiding Magistrates, that THOMAS ADDIS EMMET expired on the evening of the 14th instant, and would be buried this day, at twelve o'clock.

The following order was forthwith directed to be entered upon the minutes of the Court:—

"That the Judges of this Court now here, will attend the funeral of Thomas Addis Emmet, for the purpose of paying the last tribute of respect to one who, by uniting the greatest abilities with the most unsullied integrity, has for more than twenty years thrown a lustre upon the New York Bar. The Judges now present most deeply deplore his death, and will unite with their associate Justices, and other public functionaries, and with their fellow-citizens, in testifying their regard for the deceased, their admiration of his talents, and their approbation of his virtues.

"The learned Counsel, whose death is thus lamented by the Court, has discharged, in their fullest extent, all the duties of public and of private life; and by his great attainments and excellent qualities has reflected equal honour upon the country of his birth and the country of his adoption."

At a special meeting of the Common Council on the 16th of November, 1827, the Recorder presented the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted:—

"When in the course of Divine Providence individuals who have been held in high and deserving esteem by their fellow-citizens, are removed from this state of mortal existence, it is becoming and useful to testify by public expression a sense of that esteem. It is becoming as a reward to merit, it is useful as an incentive to a faithful discharge of duties.

"The death of the deeply lamented Thomas Addis Emmet furnishes, in the opinion of this board, such an occasion for the expression of public sentiment. He has long filled, in the eye of this community, a distinguished station. His talents have shed a lustre over our country: his virtues were a model for imitation, and endeared him wherever he was known.

"This Common Council, sincerely sympathizing with his family and with the public at large, and as a tribute of respect to his memory,

"Resolved, That this Board attend the funeral ceremonies of the late Thomas Addis Emmet, this day at twelve o'clock.

"Resolved, That the members of this Board wear the usual badge of mourning for the space of thirty days."

J. MORTON, Clerk.

At a special meeting of the Board of Professors of the Medical Faculty of Geneva College, held at the College on Thursday evening, the 15th of November instant, Professor Francis having communicated the death of Thomas Addis Emmet, Counsellor of this Board, and formerly a member of the medical profession,

On motion, Resolved, "That the Professors of this College deeply sympathise with the family of Mr. Emmet on the loss they have sustained in the death of an inestimable husband and father; and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to his bereaved relatives."

Resolved, "That this Board will unite with the Bar, and with the public, in testifying their respect for the memory of the distinguished individual whose loss is so deeply and justly regretted."

Resolved, "That the Professors will suspend their respective lectures on the 16th inst., and will attend the obsequies of the illustrious deceased."

By order, DAVID HOSACK, M.D., Pres. of the Med. Faculty.
VALENTINE MOTT, M.D., Dean.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER XI.

With few exceptions, the materials collected for the memoirs of the leaders of the United Irishmen would, in all probability, have perished, had they not fallen into the hands of women who clung to the memories of their departed friends with feelings of attachment commensurate with the calamities which had overtaken the objects of their affection or regard. It would seem that in man's adversity, when his fellowmen fall away from his sinking fortunes, or detach their thoughts from his maltreated memory, there is a stedfastness in the nature of woman's love, a fidelity in her friendship, which gives to the misfortunes of her kindred a new claim to her solicitude for every thing that concerns their interests or their fame. In the present instance of that faithfulness of affection, the memory of William James Macneven is indebted to his daughter for the ample justice that has been done to it.

The memoir which is now presented to the public

Here he soon rose to eminence, and was appointed one of the physicians of the Empress Maria Theresa, with the title of Baron. He married a lady of rank and fortune, and settled permanently in Prague.. His father, James Macneven, resided on the paternal property with an only sister, Mary Brennan, a widow lady, his younger brother Simon, and his four sons. It had been his misfortune to lose his wife a few years after his marriage. On his excellent sister devolved the charge of his children,—a duty which she performed with a mother's care and tenderness. The name of his mother was Rosa Dolphin; she was of a good old Catholic family, and died when my father was but a few years of age.

"My father, William James Macneven, was born at Ballynahowne, county of Galway, on the 21st of March, 1763. He was the eldest of four sons; of his brothers, the youngest, Hugh, was the only one who lived to reach manhood; the other two, Joseph and Antony, died in infancy. At the age of ten or twelve years, my father was sent for by his uncle, Baron Macneven, to receive his education in Germany, a custom very general in Catholic families, and rendered necessary at that time by the operation of the penal laws. Baron Macneven had also early become a widower, and his family consisted of himself, three daughters, and an only son. He lived in good style, occupying a handsome residence in Prague during the winter months, and passing his summers at an old castle on the river Sazva or Seva, about sixty miles distant from the city. This castle had, in olden times, belonged to the Knights Templars, and was one

of their strongholds. It came into our uncle's possession through his wife, who being an only child had inherited it from her father. In his uncle's family, my father spent eight or ten years very happily and profitably. He received an excellent classical education in the college at Prague; subsequently, he passed through the medical college there, and finished his professional studies at Vienna, where he graduated at the age of twenty, 1783. His uncle was a man of learning and science, and my father had the advantage of associating from childhood with the polished and learned men who formed this circle. The last years of my father's residence in Germany were rendered still pleasanter by the arrival of his brother Hugh, who was also sent for by their kind uncle, and enjoyed similar advantages with himself. When their studies were fully completed, they returned to their native country, and my father commenced the practice of his profession in Dublin about 1784. His family were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. His father was a man of the most amiable disposition and benevolent feelings, just and honourable in all his actions, warmly attached to his children and friends, and humane to his dependants. At this period, he was leading a tranquil life in the midst of his friends and neighbours. His son Hugh and his brother Simon resided with him, and his sister Mary superintended his family. My father always spoke with warm affection and gratitude of this excellent woman. She was a pious member of the Roman Catholic church, received in all simplicity and faith its doctrines, and taught them with fervour to her nephews.

A few years since, a family relic was transmitted to my father from Ireland by some person into whose hands it had fallen after her death. It was a piece of the true cross enclosed in a small silver case, which he well remembered seeing his aunt wear round her neck. It had been more than a hundred years in the family when my father was a child, having been brought from Rome to Ireland by a great uncle, who was an ecclesiastic. His aunt kept it reverently as a sacred and holy relic, and only opened it on solemn occasions. The last time my father saw it in his own country was on the occasion of his leaving home for Germany, when she opened and showed it to him, to add to the strength of her parting benediction. Fifty years from that time it came into his possession in the way I have mentioned; and so strong was the force of the early associations connected with it upon my father, that as we passed it from one to the other gazing on it merely as an object of curiosity, he expressed himself pained at seeing what had been held in such high veneration by his good aunt, and by himself in his childhood, handled thus irreverently.

"My father was now established in the practice of his profession in Dublin. With youth, health, superior abilities, and education in his favour, and good family connexions, he had a fair and prosperous career opened before him, and he was soon enabled by his practice to live genteelly and independently, and to keep with ease his station in society. Had Ireland been in a happier condition, or could selfish motives have deadened his love of his unfortunate country, I cannot doubt but that my

father would have become greatly eminent in the paths of science and literature; but a more stormy career was before him.

" The Catholic Committee, originally organized by Messrs. Wise, O'Connor, and Dr. Curry, still held their meetings in Dublin, and numbered among its members almost all the influential Catholics, both of the nobles and commons. My father was a constant attendant at these meetings, and became greatly interested in their debates. At one of them a division arose between the members on the subject of a remonstrance to be offered to the government, which the merchants and citizens, who might be called the democratic party, opposed, as too submissive and slavish in its tone; and the other party, including mostly the men of rank and fortune, upheld as discreet and loyal.* My father addressed the meeting

* The meeting referred to took place the latter part of December, 1791. The secession of Lord Kenmare's party, and the presentation of an address to Lord Westmoreland, couched in terms of hyperbolical attachment to the laws which ground the people to the dust, were the results of it. The penal laws had so far degraded the Catholic people, that for nearly a quarter of a century, previous to 1791, they submitted to the leadership of men destitute of talents, courage, dignity, or spirit, such as Lords Kenmare and Trumblestan. The former was born for slavery. He had not the spirit either of the Gael or the Saxon in his composition. Nature intended him for a Cappadocian. He was not only enamoured of servitude, but he would have it believed that all his race were content to remain in bondage. Messrs. Wyse, Curry, and O'Connor neutralized, as far as they were able, the influence of those oligarchs. It was reserved for the United Irishmen to give power and popularity to the Catholic cause, which enabled such men as Keogh and Byrne to shake off the incubus of the Catholic aristocracy. The secession of Kenmare and "the Sixty-eight Addressers"

on this occasion, strongly opposing the aristocratic party, and the measure was carried against them. The Committee being thus divided, the loyal or aristocratic Catholics, presented their address to the Government, signed by only sixty-eight names, and an account was given in the public prints of the successful opposition it had met with. This difference of opinion in the committee respecting the extent of their rights, caused much debate among the great body of the Catholics throughout the kingdom. The citizens of the town of Navan published an address to my father, warmly approving of the course he had taken; and in his answer to them he animadverted with some severity on the timid and temporizing policy of the opposition. This was the commencement of my father's public career. The following year, 1792, a general convention of the Catholics was called to ascertain definitively their true sentiments on this subject. Representatives were chosen from the different towns and cities, and my father was elected by the Catholics of Galway and those of Navan. Personal considerations induced him to accede to the call of Navan.* Dr. Sheridan, one of

from the Catholic Committee took place when Tone's energies began to give an impulse to that body, when Keogh's abilities began to come in collision with the pretensions of Kenmare, and the language of the plain truth-telling Macneven became offensive to the lord whose ideas of his own consequence and sagacity were diametrically opposed to those which were entertained by others of his worth or influence.

R. R. M.

* The author feels some pride in stating that his father was one of the delegates who sat in that convention for the town of Enniskillen.

his most intimate friends, was residing there, and its citizens had previously distinguished him by their approbation. During the meetings of this convention my father made several able speeches, published in the newspapers of the day, and originated and effected the measure which obtained for the forty-shilling freeholders the privilege of elective franchise. I am uncertain at what period my father became acquainted with Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, but they sought an interview with him, and at their first interview explained their designs, and requested his co-operation. He cordially entered into their views, and became a member of the secret society of United Irishmen.* Mr. Emmet also joined the secret society about the same period, and my father then commenced the intimacy with that excellent man, which death alone interrupted. My father now devoted all his energies to the accomplishment of the one great object of his most ardent wishes, the liberation of Ireland, and he became one of the prominent leaders of its cause. In the meantime, he continued the practice of his profession, and mingled in society as usual. He has often spoken of

* The oath was administered to him by the daughter of James Moore, of Thomas-street, the friend of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young lady then celebrated no less for her beauty than her devotion to the interests of the Union. That lady, now Mrs. Macready, lately informed the author, that several of her sex, to her own knowledge, were sworn members of the society. The oath had been administered to her by John Cormick, of Thomas-street. There can be now no impropriety in stating, that the attachment which subsisted between Macneven and Miss Moore was not solely a political one, and that there was a very ardent desire on the part of the former to make the fair Roland of her day, an Irishwoman legally united to him.

Mrs. Lefanu, the sister of the great Sheridan, as one of the loveliest and most accomplished women of the day. At her house he was on the intimate footing of a valued friend, and enjoyed exceedingly the reunion of the polished and the learned, who delighted to gather round her. Mrs. Moore and Colonel Moore were also my father's intimate friends. The Colonel commanded one of the six Catholic regiments raised by the British Government at the suggestion of Lord Clare, partly to give employment to the officers of the French army, who had emigrated on account of the revolution in France, and perhaps also with a view to increase the patronage of the Government. My father was a frequent guest at his house, where he constantly met General Lerrin and the Duke Fitz-James, also in command of regiments, and through this acquaintance with them, he obtained for his brother Hugh the post of surgeon in the regiment under the command of the Duke Fitz-James, which he held until his death, in 1797. I do not know that my uncle Hugh was ever an United Irishman; he was several years younger than my father, who was tenderly attached to him, and I think shrunk from involving him in the dangers he braved himself. My father often spoke of him with warm affection, and described him as a young man of most amiable character and superior talents. He was always delicate in health, and died of a rapid decline in the summer of 1797, while my father was absent on his mission in France. It is not necessary that I should recapitulate the public career of my father from this period, until his connexion with his beloved and un-

fortunate country was dissolved by his imprisonment and exile. There are some incidents, however, in it which throw a good deal of light on his character.

"When the emissary arrived in Dublin from Generals Hoche and Tone, with verbal instructions to Oliver Bond and M'Cormick, these gentlemen were much perplexed as to the propriety of receiving the communication, and called at my father's lodgings to advise with him on the subject; he asked if they were satisfied with the messenger's credentials. They replied that they could not doubt but that he had seen and spoken with Tone; still the communications to be received and made were of too grave a nature not to induce them to hesitate in committing themselves. My father strongly urged the necessity of his reception, and volunteered to meet the agent himself. An appointment was made for meeting him that night with all possible secrecy and care. Accordingly, as had previously been agreed on, my father repaired to the post-office, walking in front of it near the hour of eleven, and at the striking of the hour the agent emerged from under the shadow of the building and joined him. The appointed signals were given, and they walked away together. My father received from him the important intelligence he had to communicate, and gave in return all the requisite information. I think, if I remember rightly, that my father said, he accompanied him to the quay, and saw him safely off before the hour of midnight. This gentleman was Colonel M'Sheehy, then aide-de-camp to General Tone, afterwards killed at the battle of Eylau.

I have often heard my father speak with great interest of the many evenings passed during this period at Lord Edward Fitzgerald's residence, near Dublin, in the society of that true nobleman, and his accomplished wife and sister, I think the Lady Emily Fitzgerald. He particularly mentioned, one evening when they had obtained certain intelligence, that assistance would arrive from France. Mr. Emmet and himself hastened immediately with the news to Lord Edward; I believe also that Arthur O'Connor was one of the party, and full of the most cheering hopes, they conversed on the brightening prospects of their country, the two ladies entering with ardent enthusiasm into all their feelings, and sharing in their brilliant anticipations. Of my father's arrest on the 12th of March, 1798, his imprisonment in Kilmainham, and subsequent removal to Fort George, it is unnecessary to give any further details.

"His long imprisonment was rendered less irksome to him by the vigour and activity of his mind. Books were his greatest resource; it was his custom to commit to writing notes on the various works he read, and I have found among his manuscripts many such indicative of his studies at this period. Among other things, he devoted much of his attention to the writings of Ossian, &c., many of which he translated from the original Gaelic, a language he was perfectly familiar with. He made notes also of conversations he held with the Scotch soldiers and attendants about the Fort, relative to the traditions of the origin of that ancient people, and confirmatory of the idea that Scotland was originally colonized

by the Irish. I have found also among my father's papers, and in his handwriting, one or two commencements of an auto-biography, which we often entreated him to write, and I furnish you with copies of them, and with a copy of a paper also in his handwriting, relating to Mr. Emmet. After the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and her children at Fort George, it became one of the recreations of the state prisoners to instruct the latter in the various branches of education; my father taught them French, and compiled for their use a French grammar; Mr. Hudson gave lessons in music; a third in dancing, and so on through the usual course of instruction. During the whole time of his confinement, I believe my father's health was good, and even robust. He has often spoken of one period when he bathed in the ocean almost every day in the year, even in the depth of winter.

"After the liberation of the state prisoners from Fort George, my father passed the summer and autumn of 1802 in travelling through Switzerland on foot, and wrote an account of his journey called 'A Ramble through Switzerland.' He also visited his relations in Germany in the course of that year, and he always maintained an affectionate correspondence with them.

"In 1803 he went to Paris, and either in that year or the following entered the French army as a captain in the Irish brigade. From my recollection of my father's conversation on this subject, and from the tenor of his correspondence at this period, I have reason to think that he still contemplated an attack

upon Ireland by the French, and in entering the service of France was only devoting himself, in another way, to that cause he had espoused elsewhere. Deceived and disappointed in these hopes, he at length resigned his commission, and in June, 1805, set sail from Bourdeaux for New York, where he arrived on the 4th of July.* My father has often described his mingled sensations on first landing in this his adopted country; he landed on the Battery at the hour of three in the afternoon, and found himself in the midst of an immense assemblage of military and citizens, commemorating their independence and liberation from the very power that desolated his native land, and exiled himself and so many of his countrymen from their homes. His heart warmed to his new brethren, but he was yet unknown, and as he walked through the crowd up Broadway to the city hotel, he felt keenly that bitter sense of loneliness, which none but the stranger in a strange land can realize. It was I think beautifully

* One of the causes which induced Macneven to leave France, was the concern he felt at the fatal issue of a duel, in which he acted as second. The principals were Mr. John Sweeney, a native of Cork, one of the Fort George prisoners, and Mr. Corbet, a brother of the late General Corbet, of the same city. A more desperate rencontre has seldom taken place. The statement of the particulars drawn up by one of the seconds, and signed by both, gives a frightful account of this affair. Macneven acted as second to Sweeney; Ware, now Colonel Ware, the second of Corbet. Either nine or ten shots were exchanged; Corbet, after he had been wounded, still persisted in keeping his ground, while Macneven in vain endeavoured repeatedly to put an end to the contest, which unfortunately terminated at length in the death of Corbet.—R. R. M.

appropriate that one who had suffered so much in the cause of liberty, should have reached the shores of America on the anniversary of her day of freedom, and, by an equally pleasing coincidence, Mr. Sampson landed on the 4th of July the year following.

"My father lost no time in presenting his letters, and declaring his intention of becoming a citizen; he fixed upon New York as his permanent residence, and immediately entered on the practice of his profession, in which he was so successful as speedily to assure himself an easy competence; he met with a kind welcome from his new associates, and very soon numbered among his friends, all who were most eminent for talents or virtues. The society of Mr. Emmet and his family, and of Mr. Sampson, were among his greatest pleasures; the bond between them was of no ordinary friendship, it was more like the tender attachment of brothers, and they reposed in each other the most implicit confidence, which through the course of their long lives was not interrupted for a single day.

"On the 15th of June, 1810, my father was married to Mrs. Jane Margaret Tom, widow of Mr. John Tom, merchant, of New York, and daughter of Mr. Samuel Ricker, of New Town, Long Island. From an early period of his arrival in this country, both he and Mr. Sampson were intimately acquainted with Mr. Richard Ricker, my mother's brother, an eminent lawyer, and for many years known, favourably, as district attorney and recorder of New York. This intimacy ripened into the truest friendship, so enduring, that it was the request of Mr. Sampson,

before his death, that his remains should be interred in the family burying-ground of the Rickers, among the friends he most valued.

"My grandfather, Mr. Ricker, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, resided on his farm, on the shore of a beautiful bay about eight miles from the city. He had served his country through her revolutionary struggle, and afterwards as a representative in Congress; and had a mind and heart to appreciate and understand men like my father and Mr. Sampson, whose society he greatly enjoyed. Mr. Sampson, to the great qualities of his mind, added a refinement, I may say, a poetry of feeling, which enabled him keenly to relish the real beauties of nature, and to tinge even the common-place realities of life with a bright and pleasing colouring. He had always great delight in boating, and during his years of health and vigour, was never without a boat, large enough to hold himself, his friends, and their families, and it was one of his greatest pleasures to collect them together, and make excursions up the river, to visit the Rickers, his friends at Bowery Bay. The sail from New York up the East River, is one of much variety and beauty, with just sufficient peril in passing through the narrow passage called Hell-gate, to give it a romantic interest; but Mr. Sampson was a master of boat-craft, and used safely to conduct his little vessel through all dangers, until it entered the smooth waters of the bay, when he would give notice of his approach, by playing an air on his flute, always his companion, and he was greeted by a hearty welcome before his boat could reach the shore. Sometimes

the sound of his flute might be heard at the quiet farm-house, of a fine moon-light night, as late as eleven or twelve o'clock. The doors were immediately thrown open to receive the party, and after passing an hour or two in cheerful conversation, he and his friends would take the turn of the tide and sail gaily back to the city. I have often, in thinking of these scenes, contrasted the peaceful serenity and pure pleasures of the exiled lives of my father and his friends, with the stormy and painful ordeal they had encountered in their native land. At the period of Mr. Emmet's death I was too young to have many personal recollections of him; but of Mr. Sampson I have the most vivid and affectionate remembrance. His family and ours have ever been united in the warmest friendship, and when I look back, the pleasantest of our past recollections are connected with him. He possessed, more than any one I ever knew, the power of creating enjoyment; it was impossible that any company could be dull of which he was a part. His brilliant wit and pleasant fancy enlivened and adorned the conversation, whether grave or gay. I wish it was in my power to describe, as I remember it, the delightful social intercourse between our families. While speaking of those whose friendship my father most highly prized, I cannot omit naming the widow of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and his son, the late Captain Tone. They were amongst his dearest friends; AND I FEEL IT IS THE PRIVILEGE OF MY BIRTH-RIGHT TO KNOW, AND LOVE, AND REVERENCE THAT NOBLE WOMAN.

"In 1823, my sister was married to Thomas Addis

Emmet, the son of my father's dear friend; and they and their children have been among the chief sources of happiness to his declining years.

"For the medical appointments conferred on my father, I refer you to the biographical notice in the *New York Medical Gazette*, of which I transmit a copy. In 1823, he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society; he was also a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, and there are many now living who must remember with pleasure the meetings of that society, at his house in Park Place. All those most eminent in science, arts, and literature, with any distinguished strangers who might be visiting the city were convened on these occasions, and formed indeed a brilliant circle. My father took an active and prominent part in the politics of his adopted country, until within the few last years of his life, and always supported her laws and constitution with consistency and firmness. The importance attached to his opinion was evinced in 1834, on the occasion of a popular election. He differed from the party he had hitherto supported on a subject of great national interest, and his sentiments being publicly called for, he gave them in a letter to the querists with the independence and decision that formed such prominent traits in his character. His letter was immediately reprinted throughout the Union, and produced such an effect that a storm of party rage was raised against him; his opponents quite forgetting in their violence that they were denying him the simple right of holding and expressing his

own opinion. My father bore all their attacks with dignity and equanimity, and some were hard to bear, for among lesser things, it was endeavoured to alienate from him the affections of his countrymen, by disseminating the basest falsehoods, such as not even party heat could justify, they, of course, fell harmless, for their mark was far above them. I enclose two papers of that period, one containing my father's letter, and the other a meeting of adopted citizens, in which is a letter of Mr. Sampson descriptive of many points of my father's character. Towards his native land, my father's devoted attachment remained ever the same, neither time, nor distance, the cares of life, nor the approach of death could diminish or weaken it. He was ever active in her service, and seized every occasion which offered to promote the great object of her happiness. In proof of this, are the many addresses from his pen, advocating with untiring patriotism her rights, and arousing in her cause the sympathies of his fellow-citizens. I may refer in particular to his address to the people of Ireland, published in February, 1825, which awakened considerable attention, both in this country and in his own. In August, 1828, my father, in connexion with Mr. Thomas O'Connor, one of his oldest and most valued friends, Mr. Sampson and many other patriotic gentlemen formed an association called 'The friends of Ireland.' The exciting cause of this association, was the sympathy awakened in behalf of Harry Mills, the independent and honest forty-shilling freeholder. My father was elected president, and

continued to preside at its meetings until May, 1829, when Catholic emancipation was granted. During the period of the existence of this society a large amount of Catholic rent was transmitted to Ireland, and similar associations were formed throughout the United States and even in Mexico.

"My father wrote an account of its proceedings, read before the Literary Association of the Friends of Ireland, published in the *New York Truth Teller*, of July, 1830. He also took a warm interest in promoting, by every means, the welfare of emigrants to this country, and he was president of the Emigrant Society up to the period of his death.

"In December, 1832, he met with a severe blow to his happiness in the death of his eldest son James Joseph Macneven. My brother had finished his collegiate studies, and had commenced the study of the law, and his fine talents and amiable disposition had awakened bright hopes for the future; but a sudden and severe illness tore him from us at the early age of nineteen. It was a deep and abiding sorrow to my father, and to the last of his life he could not name him without tears.

"My father was first attacked with severe illness in the month of March, 1838, previously to which he had enjoyed almost uninterrupted health; for some days he was dangerously ill, but the attack at length terminated in a severe fit of the gout. His health was so much impaired by this illness as to render the practice of his profession both irksome and injurious to him, and he determined on retiring to the country. Accordingly, in April, 1839, he

broke up his establishment in Broadway, and removed with his family to the residence of his son-in-law, Thomas Addis Emmet, about four miles from the city.

"In the preceding February he had again experienced the bitterest sorrow in the death of a beloved daughter, and retirement was congenial to his feelings.* In the spring of 1840, he was appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks previous to his death.

"From the period of my father's first illness in 1838, he was subject to frequent severe and painful attacks, which he bore with the patience of a Christian and the fortitude of a philosopher. In the treasures of his own mind he found a great resource. Books were to him never failing friends, and the wide range of his reading comprehended the greatest variety. While in the bustle and business of his profession, he was unable to give any great portion of his time to general literature, but after his retirement he read every thing. He enjoyed with a wonderful youthfulness of feeling and of fancy, the writings of Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth; he read Sparks' Life of Washington, voluminous as it is, with great interest, the writings of Jefferson, various works on geology, and all the scientific and literary reviews of the day. The study of theology engaged much of his attention, and he compared the tenets of the different sects more with a view to find points of

* This young lady was seen by the Author a very few months before her death apparently in the bloom of health, and certainly in the possession of beauty and accomplishments of no ordinary kind. R.R.M.

resemblance than to discover dissimilar opinions. With all this he continued to take a deep interest in the affairs of his beloved country, and read with avidity all that related to her destinies. On the 25th of November, 1840, as my father was returning from the city, a heavy loaded wagon came in contact with his gig, he was thrown from it, and received a severe wound on his leg, which, together with the shock of the fall, occasioned him a long and painful illness. From this he partially recovered, but was again taken very ill, and was never afterwards able to leave his room. Throughout his illness he was remarkable for the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper; the vigour of his mind, and the warm affection of his heart seemed to triumph over his bodily sufferings, and enabled him to receive pleasure from many sources. The society of his family and a few intimate friends was his greatest happiness, and his enjoyment of reading continued almost to the last. He was never deceived with respect to the event of his illness, but conversed often on the subject with perfect calmness, and even cheerfulness. In the month of June his strength failed so rapidly, that we were obliged to give up the hopes we had clung to that he might yet be spared to us, and on the 12th of July, 1841, my dear father breathed his last.

"He was throughout his life a consistent and enlightened Roman Catholic, and his examination of other creeds tended only to confirm him in that persuasion. Twice during the winter of 1841, he received the communion from his friend the Very Rev. John Power, and on the morning of his death the

last rites of his church were administered to him by the Right Rev. Bishop Hughes.

"I am unable to portray to you as they are written on our hearts, the great and admirable qualities possessed by my beloved father. His public career is before you, but I fear you can form but an imperfect idea from this feeble sketch of his private worth. As a husband and father he was most affectionate, and tender and indulgent to the greatest degree. He was a firm and faithful friend, and always willing to aid the unfortunate to the utmost of his power. I cannot forbear mentioning the generosity of his nature which made him ever ready to acknowledge the talents of others and to rejoice in their success. His patriotism was pure and unselfish, and I well remember that on one occasion when O'Connell's popularity here met with some abatement, my father was the only one of our circle who seemed unmoved. He smiled at the warmth of our expressions, and continued to watch with the greatest interest the movements of O'Connell in furtherance of the good of Ireland. The great end which that extraordinary man had in view, was what my father had at heart, and he always awarded to Mr. O'Connell the meed of praise he merited.

"My father, besides being a good classical scholar, was a proficient in several modern languages. He spoke German and French with the same facility as English, and was well versed in the literature of those countries. He was also a good Italian scholar. He understood Irish, his native tongue, perfectly well,

and conversed in it fluently. I have heard him say it was the first he ever spoke.

"On a careful examination of his manuscripts, I find they principally consist of notes and memorandums connected with the history of Ireland, a work on which subject, at one period, he contemplated writing. Some are in his own handwriting; others seem materials transmitted from other sources. His writings were chiefly on medical, scientific, or political subjects, and were generally in the form of lectures, addresses, and essays. His laborious profession, the duties of the professorships he held at different times, and the constant necessity of devoting himself to the daily business of life, left him little time to bestow on literary labour. Of his political writings, a pamphlet called 'An Argument for Independence in opposition to a Union,' is well deserving of attention. His early speeches are given in the accounts of the meetings of the Catholic delegates held in Dublin in December, 1792, and at various other meetings of that body from that period till 1794. His principal publications are the 'Ramble through Switzerland,' published in Dublin in 1803; 'Pieces of Irish History;' an edition of 'Brande's Chemistry;' and an 'Exposition of the Atomic Theory.' My father had also made military matters a subject of thought and study; and I have on my desk a pamphlet by him on 'The Nature and Functions of an Army Staff,' printed in New York in 1812.

"The burial-ground of the Ricker family is on the shore of Bowery Bay, Long Island, within a short

distance of the old family mansion, and there the mortal remains of my dear father rest beside his children, and near to it a plain monument of white marble marks the grave of his friend, Mr. Sampson. This monument was raised to his memory by the wife and daughters of Mr. Sampson, and we contemplate erecting a similar one to my father. There are but three of my father's children surviving—my two brothers, the eldest now practising medicine in New York, and myself. My sister, Mrs. Emmet, is my mother's daughter by her former marriage. My father was never rich; but he has left us an honourable competence, and a dowry far beyond the greatest wealth, in his name and character.

"M. MACNEVEN."

CHAPTER XII.

THE preceding narrative has rendered it unnecessary to enter into any other details, with the exception of those connected with the political movements in which Macneven was engaged.

Thomas O'Connor (one of the descendants of Dennis O'Connor, of Ballenagare,) at a public meeting in 1837, in New York, gave the following account of Macneven's early services in the Catholic cause. The first passage cannot fail to make a profound impression on the mind of every English reader.

"The British government, when it acquired an equivocal ascendancy in Ireland, should have tried to secure it by an incorporation of the Irish with the British people, an evil genius stood in the way, and under its councils it was resolved to enslave the Irish. The great instrument employed to effect this purpose was the penal code against the Catholics, who constituted the mass of the inhabitants.

"The system of terror which grew out of the enactment of the penal code, was sufficient to daunt the heart. There are, fortunately, in all countries, some master-spirits, persons who belong not to the common class of men, and who seem destined for great pur-

poses. Ireland was not destitute of some such. In the year 1760, three Irishmen, bold as they were patriotic, associated themselves into a Catholic committee. Its object was to obtain the repeal or modification of the penal statutes. This committee formed a nucleus, about which was gradually collected the best spirits in the land. Under various changes or modifications of constitution or name, it continues to the present time. The National Association, now in Ireland, is but one of its legitimate descendants. May I be permitted to add, that an ancestor of mine, Charles O'Connor, was one: the other two were Dr. Currie, the historian, and Thomas Wise, the forefather of the present highly gifted member for Waterford.

"Dr. Macneven was scarcely yet qualified by his years to assume the toga virilis, entered the committee as the representative of the town of Navan. He found extreme caution paralyzing many, and, in some shape, all of them, with the exception of John Keogh, of Mount Jerome, in the county of Dublin. Mr. Keogh found himself no longer alone. On the arrival, about this time, in Ireland, of a new viceroy, Lord Kenmare, a Catholic nobleman, backed by the Catholic aristocracy, prepared an address, which he sent to the committee for their sanction. In the absence of Mr. Keogh, Dr. Macneven opposed the cringing sycophancy of the address, in a speech in which patriotism and eloquence were happily blended, characterizing it as unworthy of their honour, and a departure from the general interests of the Catholics. The required sanction was withheld; the address,

however, was subsequently presented at the Castle, signed by sixty-eight names, all that could be obtained. Dr. Macneven, on this occasion, received the thanks of his constituents of Navan. In this reply, he took occasion to develope the state of the Catholics, their growing spirit and increasing knowledge, and concluded by more than a hint to the sixty-eight addressors, to be careful how they further tampered with the wishes and interests of the people. The proceedings, with the names of the sixty-eight, were published, and served as the basis of the argument successfully used by Mr. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a Protestant gentleman and patriot, when he proceeded to Ulster to disabuse the Protestants in that province, in regard to their erroneous impression of the character of the Catholic clergy and gentry. This promoted that Christian union of Catholic and Protestant, afterwards known by the name of 'United Irishmen.'

"The authority of the Catholic committee to speak the sense of the Catholic body, having been frequently questioned, the Committee issued a proclamation, calling a convention of the Catholics of the kingdom. It was signed by their chairman, Mr. Edward Byrne, a wealthy and respectable merchant of the city of Dublin. Accordingly a convention, consisting of representatives from all the counties, cities, and principal towns of the kingdom, convened in Dublin in 1792, in the same room in Back-lane in which the parliament of King James sat at the time of the revolution. Dr. Macneven was returned from three different places, a proof of his popularity: he selected to take his seat as formerly for Navan.

"In this Catholic Parliament, as it was often not inaptly called, Dr. Macneven sided with, or rather led, those who sought the invaluable right of the elective franchise; but an unhappy over caution ruled the majority: the petition to the King, although it passed through the hands of Mr. Keogh, sought but a qualified franchise, confining it to the freeholders of the yearly estate of twenty pounds. The Doctor took an active part in the long discussion of the question: he was in favour of a more extensive franchise: in his zealous advocacy a spark from his lip fell on the latent democratic spirit of the members, and lit it into life. Availing himself of an excitement of his own creation, he moved an amendment, to the effect that the Catholics should demand the elective franchise to the full extent it was exercised by Protestants. It was a crisis in the affairs of the Catholics—the motion happily prevailed—and the petition thus amended was presented to the King. It was not a time to tamper with the people; the petition was graciously received.

"On the opening of the next succeeding session of Parliament, the subject was favourably introduced in the royal speech. In that session, a bill passed in conformity with the petition. To this act of Dr. Macneven, Ireland was indebted for the creation of that most courageous and patriotic class of citizens, the forty-shilling freeholders. The first great turn out of the forty-shilling freeholders resulted in the election of Daniel O'Connell for the county of Clare, and the consequent emancipation of the Catholics.

"Doctor Macneven continued to take a distinguished part in whatever was connected with the Catholic question, until after the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from the Viceroyalty of Ireland, when the hope of emancipation became so doubtful, or was placed at such a distance, that the Doctor quitted the narrow sphere of his operation, and was thenceforward an United Irishman and advocate, not of partial but of general emancipation. The Doctor was soon advanced to the chief executive office as one of the five directors. The post of danger was often assigned to him, and always promptly accepted. He repaired to Paris as the accredited agent of Ireland, and was in constant communication with Theobald Wolfe Tone, then in Holland. To seek arms, ammunition, and allies, was their object; in this they partially succeeded. The Doctor was at Paris while the English and French Commissioners were at Lisle negotiating a peace. It was all important to Ireland to delay or prevent it. He and Tone, in perfect concert of views and exertions, strove to produce a rupture of the negotiation; or, if this could not be effected, to place on the protocol a demand for the internal independence of the Irish Parliament, including the religious freedom of the Catholics. Such acts of protection in favour of oppressed nations, from sympathising and powerful friends, are not uncommon in the history of diplomacy. The last of the kind is the stipulation in the treaty of Vienna, in behalf of the nationality of Poland.

"It is well known that the English plenipotentiaries returned home, *re infecta*, without making peace,

and that an invasion of Ireland was attempted the next winter.

"It failed, and unfortunately, Mr. Tone lost his life in consequence of his capture on board one of the ships of the expedition. Doctor Macneven returned to Ireland, and was imprisoned for several years, and finally was exiled."

The 11th of September, 1792, the corporation of Dublin passed a series of resolutions, unanimously declaratory of their grand principle—"Protestant ascendancy," and their determination to support it with their lives and fortunes. Having set forth the Roman Catholics to be in possession of,

"The most perfect toleration of their religion,

"The fullest security of their property,

"The most complete personal liberty,"

It was resolved, "That we consider the Protestant ascendancy to consist in

"A Protestant king of Ireland,

"A Protestant parliament,

"Protestant electors and Government,

"The benches of justice,

"The army and the revenue,

"Through all their branches and details Protestant,

"And this system supported by a connexion with

"The Protestant realm of Britain."*

A Catholic convention, the first ever called, responded to the sentiments put forth by the Dublin corporation. At a meeting of the delegates the 3rd of December, 1792, Dr. Macneven, in a speech occupying nine pages of very closely printed matter,

* Address of the Corporation of Dublin, Sept. 11th, 1792.

replete with powerful argument in plain, energetic language, asserted the rights of his Catholic countrymen to the enjoyment of every privilege which the constitution accorded to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and made the unfortunate declaration of "their honours" of the corporation, the subject of an attack which inflicted on Protestant ascendancy a greater blow, and a heavier discouragement than it had ever before sustained.

He investigated its origin, its design, and its results. "It was this ascendancy," he said, "that in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, like a ferocious tiger, devastated the land of our fathers, and after establishing its den on a depopulated waste, surrounded it, in a succeeding age, with the horrors of mental darkness; it was this ascendancy that, breaking through the sympathies of nature, and the obligations of eternal justice, established the slow tortures, the recreant prohibitions, the unnatural, unmanly enormities of the penal code. It was this ascendancy that annihilated the flourishing manufacture of woollens, that abandoned Irish shipping, shocked Irish commerce, and despoiled the nation of independence, as it now deprived the Catholic of franchise. It was that same spirit of rapacity and division which prowled for addresses, and instigated grand juries.

"Its opposition to justice had at length taught the people their resources; it stimulated virtue, awakened pride, and armed every passion of the heart in defence of the best interests of the country. They must now come forward manfully with the long

list of their grievances in one hand, the charter of liberty in the other, and arraign at the bar of national justice this monster, which strides over a prostrate land, and taunts the people from every ministerial print and grand jury with the clanking of their chains."

Macneven ended his address by moving a *slight* amendment in the prayer of the petition for "*a participation in the elective franchise;*" he proposed that the word "*equal*" be inserted before that of "participation."

On the following day, the 4th of December, he addressed the delegates in a speech no less powerful than the former, in support of "a demand for *total emancipation*, as the most honourable, the most consistent, and the wisest measure for them to adopt; one that could not be withheld by the power in the country, and would not be opposed by the power out of it."

The Protestant ascendency men and Lord Kenmare found a troublesome opponent in Macneven. The claim to "equal participation in the elective franchise" must have astonished the weak nerves of the one, as much as the demand for total emancipation did the other.

Macneven sailed from Yarmouth for Holland on the 7th of July, 1797, on his mission from the directory of the United Irishmen. At page 55 of "The Pieces of Irish History" he gives the following account of the knowledge of the British Government of the communications which had been carried on with France:—"Their knowledge of the negotiations of the United Irishmen with foreign states was equally

notorious, and at this time one of the deputies had personal evidence of its extent and accuracy. That knowledge was obtained from some person in the pay of England, and in the confidence of France.*

"On the 12th of March preceding, after the arrests in Dublin, Mr. Cooke told Dr. Macneven that Government was in possession of a copy of the memoir given by him to the French minister, and he removed, in this instance, all suspicion of his own veracity, by detailing a great part of its contents. The day following, Dr. Macneven was again questioned by the Anglo-Irish privy council concerning the same paper. Of this discovery, he found means to inform several of his friends; and at the period of the negotiation, he had the satisfaction of knowing that one of those persons was actually in France, and had, in all pro-

* "Mr. Reinhardt, the resident minister of the French republic at Hamburg, when applied to by Dr. Macneven for a passport to proceed to Paris, insisted on his orders not to deliver any without the permission of his Government first obtained for every individual case. Though much pressed, he was inflexible; but always offered to transmit a memoir which should detail the object of the mission. This was at last prepared, in despair of proceeding, and as Reinhardt knew the English language, and must at any rate translate the memoir into cipher, it was deemed unnecessary to compose it in French. Two days after it was delivered, Mr. Reinhardt's scruples vanished, and he granted the passport. Macneven afterwards saw the deciphered copy of this paper, in French, in Talleyrand's office, where it was kept under the particular key of the chief secretary. The original, in English, was withdrawn from Reinhardt, and never afterwards intrusted by Macneven into any hands but those of a friend upon whom suspicion could not attach; and independent of the security offered by his character, there is this strong circumstance, that the copy of the memoir which Dr. Macneven saw in the hands of Lord Clare, was from the French, and not the English."

bability, already communicated the intelligence to the directory."

The examinations of Dr. Macneven before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, the 7th and 8th August, 1798, having been garbled like those of Emmet and O'Connor, he published, conjointly with them in the memoir already cited, an authentic account of his examinations, and the following is a copy of them.

THE EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN, BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AUGUST 7, 1798.

I took the following minute of my examinations before the Secret Committee of the Lords and Commons, being then convinced that they would not publish the entire of my answers, and that I should possibly find it necessary, in vindication of truth, to publish them myself. The garbled, disingenuous report of these Committees has appeared, and I had then an opportunity of complaining to the Lord Chancellor of the unfairness with which my examinations are set forth in the appendix to it. He did not deny the fact, but declared very roundly, I must not expect they would publish more of them than would answer their purpose. This, to be sure, was candid, and I will not conceal one of the very few merits I can allow his Lordship.

The Lord Chancellor had before him extracts from the memoir which we sent to Lord Castlereagh, on the 4th of August, in fulfilment of our agreement with Government. They related to the facts detailed

in our paper concerning the history and progress of the Union, detached from an account of the motives and abuses which were stated by us to have given rise to the resolutions we adopted. The examination was altogether conducted in a manner to obtain for such parts of the memoir a certain authenticity for publication, without publishing the memoir itself. He went into a minute examination of the civil and military organization, and the various communications with France. When he came to that part which mentions another memoir given to the French minister at Hamburgh, he turned to an extract of a copy of it, which he had before him upon some subsequent occasion. He said that no copy of the entire was ever sent from England, and in this I can readily believe him. He asked how that memoir happened to be given to the French minister. I answered, that the Irish agent applied to the French minister for a passport to go into France, which the minister made some difficulty in granting, but called for a memoir, and offered to transmit it to his Government. The memoir was accordingly written, and soon after the person got a passport. This tedious examination took up several hours.

Lord Chancellor.—Pray, Dr. Macneven, what number of troops did the Irish directory require from the French Government for the invasion of Ireland?

Macneven.—The *minimum* force was 5,000 men, the *maximum*, 10,000. With that number, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, we knew that an Irish army could be formed and disciplined. This, aided by the universal wish of the people to shake off

the yoke, we had no doubt would succeed; and we were always solicitous that no foreign force should be able to dictate in our country. Liberty and national independence being our object, we never meant to engage in a struggle for a change of masters.

Lord Chancellor.—Was not your object a separation from England?

Macneven.—It certainly became our object, when we were convinced that liberty was not otherwise attainable; our reasons for this determination are given in the memoir; it is a measure we were forced into, inasmuch as I am now, and always have been of opinion, that if we were an independent republic, and Britain ceased to be formidable to us, our interest would require an intimate connexion with her.

Lord Chancellor.—Such as subsists between England and America?

Macneven.—Something like it, my Lord.

Archbishop of Cashel.—In plain English, that Ireland should stand on her own bottom, and trade with every other country, just according as she found it would be her interest?

Macneven.—Precisely, my Lord; I have not, I own, any idea of sacrificing the interests of Ireland to those of any other country; nor why we should not, in that, as in every other respect, be as free as the English themselves.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Ireland could not support herself alone.

Macneven.—In my opinion she could; and, if once her own mistress, would be invincible against England and France together; but this, my Lord, is a com

bination never to be expected. If necessary, I could bring as many proofs in support of this opinion as a thing admits of which may be only supported or opposed by probabilities.

Lord Kilwarden.—Had the North any intention of rising in rebellion in the summer of 1797 ?

Macneven.—It had an intention of rising in arms after General Lake's proclamation.

Lord Kilwarden.—What prevented it ?

Macneven.—The people of the North were made acquainted with assurances received about this time from France, that the expected succours would be shortly sent to us ; and it was represented to them, that we would be giving the English a great advantage by beginning before they arrived. For this, as well as other reasons, I was always averse to our beginning by ourselves.

Lord Kilwarden.—Then if you thought you would have succeeded you would have begun ?

Macneven.—Most probably we should ; at the same time I am bound to declare, that it was our wish to act with French aid, because that would tend to make the revolution less bloody, by determining many to join in it early, who, while the balance of success was doubtful, would either retain an injurious neutrality, or even perhaps oppose it.

Lord Kilwarden.—The Union held out to the poor an assurance that their condition would be ameliorated ; how was this to be accomplished ?

Macneven.—In the first place, by an abolition of tithes ; and in the next, by establishing such an order of things as would give more free scope to their

industry, and secure to them a better recompense for it.

Archbishop of Cashel. — You know very well if tithes were abolished the landlords would raise the rents, and the tenants would not be benefited.

Macneven.—I know, my Lord, that during the period of the lease, at least, there would be no such rise, but that now, year after year, there is not a single improvement made by the tenant, without the parson's getting a proportion of the profits; it is a tax which increases in proportion with the tenant's industry, and encroaches on his capital, in order to form an income for a man, to whom he is not indebted for any service, and in general there is the loss of the full tenth between the incumbent and his proctor.

Archbishop of Cashel.—Can you account for the massacres committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the county of Wexford?

Macneven.—My Lord, I am far from being the apologist of massacres, however provoked; but if I am rightly informed as to the conduct of the magistrates of that county, the massacres you allude to were acts of retaliation upon enemies, much more than fanaticism; moreover, my Lord, it has been the misfortune of this country, scarcely ever to have known the English natives or settlers, otherwise than enemies, and in his language the Irish peasant has but one name for Protestant and Englishman, and confounds them; he calls both by the name of *Sasanagh;* his conversation, therefore, is *less against a religionist* than against a *foe;* his prejudice is the

effect of the ignorance he is kept in, and the treatment he receives. How can we be surprised at it, when so much pains are taken to brutalize him?

Lord Chancellor.—I agree with Dr. Macneven; the Irish peasant considers the two words as synonymous; he calls Protestant and Englishman, indifferently, *Sasanagh.*

Lord Kilwarden.—I suppose the religious establishment would be abolished with the tithes?

Macneven.—I suppose it would.

Lord Kilwarden.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—No, indeed.

Lord Kilwarden.—Not the Roman Catholic?

Macneven.—I would no more consent to that than I would to the establishment of *Mahometanism.*

Lord Kilwarden.—What would you do then?

Macneven.—That which they do in America; let each man profess the religion of his conscience, and pay his own pastor.

Lord Chancellor.—Do you think the mass of the people in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught care the value of this pen, or the drop of ink it contains, for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—I am sure they do not, if by the mass of the people your Lordship means the common illiterate people; they do not understand it. What they very well understand is, that it would be a very great advantage to them to be relieved from the payment of tithes, and not to be fleeced by their landlords; but there is not a man who can read a newspaper, who has not considered the question of

Reform, and was not once at least attached to that measure; the people of the least education understand it; and why the common people, whose opinion on every other occasion is so little valued, should be made the criterion of public opinion, I do not know.

Lord Chancellor.—I dare say they all understand it better than I do?

Macneven.—As to Catholic Emancipation, the importance of that question has passed away long since; it really is not worth a moment's thought at the present period.

Lord Dillon.—Has the Union extended much into Connaught?

Macneven.—It has, very considerably.

Lord Dillon.—I did not think so. What is the extent of the organization?

Macneven.—Less, perhaps, than in other places; it got later into Connaught, but very great numbers have taken the test. From the misery of the poor people, and the oppressiveness of landlords in many parts of that province, we have no doubt but if the French ever land in force there, they will be joined by thousands, probably by the whole of its population.

Archbishop of Cashel.—If the French had made peace at Lisle, as you say they were willing to do, they would have left you in the lurch; and may they not do so again?

Macneven.—The French Government declared, that it would not deceive the Irish; and that it must make peace if England offered such terms as France had a right to expect: but that if the insincerity of the

cabinet of St. James's should frustrate the negotiation, the Irish should never be abandoned; and I now consider the Directory as bound by every tie of honour never to make peace until we are an independent nation.

Archbishop of Cashel.—What security have you that the French would not keep this country as a conquest?

Macneven.—Their interest and our power: if they attempted any such thing, they must know that England would not fail to take advantage of it; that she would then begin to get a sense of justice towards Ireland, and make us any offer short of separation, as she did America, when by a like assistance America was enabled to shake off her yoke; moreover, it is not possible for the French to send any force into this country which would not be at the mercy of its inhabitants; but the example which was held out to them, and to which they promised to conform, was that of Rochambeau in America.

A Member of the Com.—To what number do you think the United Irishmen amounted all over the kingdom?

Macneven.—Those who have taken the test do not, I am convinced, fall short of 500,000, without reckoning women and old men. The number regularly organized is not less than 300,000; and I have no doubt all these will be ready to fight for the liberties of Ireland, when they get a fair opportunity.

Lord Chancellor.—We shall not trouble you with any more questions.

August 8th, 1798.

Lord Castlereagh.—Dr. Macneven, the Lords have sent us the minutes of your examination before them, and we only wish to trouble you with some questions relative to the interior state of the country.

Speaker.—Pray, sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection?

Macneven.—The insurrection was occasioned by the house-burnings, the whipping to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

Speaker.—This only took place since the insurrection?

Macneven.—It is more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since these horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

Corry and *Latouche.*—Yes, a few houses were burned.

Macneven.—Gentlemen, there were a great deal more than a few houses burned.

Speaker.—Would not the organization have gone on, and the Union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

Macneven.—The organization would have proceeded, and the Union have acquired that strength which arises from order; organization would at the

same time have given a control over the people, capable of restraining their excesses; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties where it was well established.

Lord Castlereagh.—You acknowledge the Union would have become stronger but for the means taken to make it explode?

Macneven.—It would every day have become more perfect, but I do not see anything in what has happened to deter the people from persevering in the Union and its objects; on the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power, as I understand it is now admitted, that if the insurrection was general and well conducted it would have been successful.

Sir J. Parnell.—Do you know the population of Wexford county?

Macneven.—Not exactly; but people agree that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskilfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the Government, a general rising would have freed Ireland.

Lord Castlereagh.—Were not the different measures of the Government, which are complained of, subsequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen?

Macneven.—Prior, my lord, to most of them; if your lordship desires it, I will prove by comparison of dates that Government throughout has been the aggressor. (*His lordship was not curious.*)

Speaker (looking at the minutes from the Lords.)—You say that you wished to keep back the insurrection;

how do you reconcile that with the general plan of arming?

Macneven.—From the time we had given up Reform as hopeless, and determined to receive the French, we adopted a military organization, and prepared to be in a condition to co-operate with them; but it was always our wish to wait, if possible, for their arrival. We wished to see liberty established in our country with the least possible expense of private happiness, and in such a way that no honest man of either party should have cause to regret it. We had before our eyes the revolution of 1688, in which a popular General, with only a small army, gave the friends of liberty an opportunity of declaring themselves; accordingly, upon that celebrated occasion, the junction of the people of England with King William was so extensive, that war and its concomitant evils were entirely precluded. I know the case would be the same here if there was a French landing.

Mr. Alexander.—Although talents and education are to be found in the Union, yet there is no comparison, in point of property, between those who invited the French and those who brought in King William.

Macneven.—Pardon me, sir, I know very many who possess probably much larger properties than did Lord Danby, who signed the invitation to the Prince of Orange, or than did Lord Somers, who was the great champion of the Revolution. The property in the Union is immense; but persons in a situation to be more easily watched were not required to render themselves particularly conspicuous.

Speaker.—But in case of a revolution, would not many persons be banished or destroyed, and their properties forfeited; for instance, the gentlemen here?

Macneven.—We never had a doubt but in such an event many of those who profess to be the warmest friends of the British connexion would very quickly join us, and the readiness with which we have seen them support different other administrations, led us to suppose they might possibly do us the HONOUR of supporting our own. I am confident, sir, that in case of revolution, the United Irishmen would behave better to their enemies than their enemies do to them.

Speaker.—Was not the *Olive Branch*, and the arms she had on board, destined for this country?

Macneven.—I never heard they were; arms have been frequently offered, but we always refused to accept them without troops; for we knew that insurrection would be the immediate consequence of a landing of arms, and we constantly declared to the French Government, that we never meant to make our country a La Vendee, or the seat of Chouan.

Speaker.—Do you think Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform are objects of any importance with the common people?

Macneven.—Catholic Emancipation, as it is called, the people do not care about; I am sure they ought not now; they know, I believe, very generally, that it would be attended with no other effect than to admit into the House of Peers a few individuals who profess the Catholic religion, and enable some others to speculate on seats in the House of Commons. No

man is so ignorant as to think this would be a national benefit. When Lord Fitzwilliam was here I considered the measure a good one, as it would have removed the pretexts of those feuds and animosities which have desolated Ireland for two centuries, and have been lately so unhappily exacerbated; but now that those evils have occurred, which the stay of that nobleman would have prevented, they are not little measures which can remedy the grievances of this country.

[*Speaker*, looking over at somebody.—See that.]

Speaker.—But are you not satisfied that Reform would go as little way to content the people as Catholic Emancipation?

Macneven.—Sir, I can best answer that question by declaring what the sentiments of the United Irishmen were at different periods. When Mr. Ponsonby brought in his first Bill of Reform, I remember having conversed with some of the most confidential men in the north on that subject, and they declared to me, they would think the country happy, and likely to think itself so, by getting that bill. When he brought in his last bill, I am sure the country at large would have been satisfied with the same.

Lord Castlereagh.—They would have been satisfied to effect a revolution through a reform.

Macneven.—If a change of system be one way or other inevitable, of which I have no doubt, and which you yourselves cannot but think highly probable, who can be so much interested in its occurring peaceably as you are? In any tranquil change you will

retain your properties, and the immense influence which attaches to property; in such a situation you would necessarily have a considerable share in the management of affairs; and I cannot conceive how a revolution, effected in such a manner, would much confound the order of society, or give any considerable shock to private happiness.

Speaker.—Don't you think the people would be dissatisfied with any reformed parliament which would not abolish the church establishment and tithes?

Macneven.—I have no idea of a reformed parliament that would not act according to the interest and known wishes of the people. I am clear that tithes ought to be suppressed, and have no doubt the church establishment would follow.

A Member.—Would you not set up another?

Macneven.—Most certainly not; I consider all church establishments as injurious to liberty and religion.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—Will you tell me what you understand by a free House of Commons?

Macneven.—One which should be annually and freely returned by the people, and in which their interests, for the most part, should direct their decisions.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—What do you think of pot-walloping boroughs? they afford a specimen of universal suffrage.

Macneven.—I know some adversaries of reform who have less reason to be displeased with them than I have; but they are a proof how useless would be

any partial reform, and that a thing may be noxious in a detached state, which would form a valuable part of a good system.

A Member.—It seems we are reduced to the unfortunate situation of not being able to content the people without a reform which would overthrow the church establishment, and break the connexion with England.

Macneven.—If you be in that situation, give me leave to tell you it was brought on by the perseverance with which every species of reform has always been refused, and the contumely manifested towards those who petitioned for it. Discussion was provoked by this treatment, and resentment excited; the consequences of which are now that the people would probably exercise to its full extent whatever privilege they acquired, though, if timely granted, they would stop far short of the length to which it might be carried; this is the nature of man; but, sir, I see no necessary connexion between the fall of the establishment and a separation from England.

Speaker.—Sure, if the head of the church was removed, the connexion would be broken.

Macneven.—It might be preserved through the king, if the Irish thought proper to retain it. As the parliament now exists, with two-thirds of it (if I may be allowed to speak frankly) the property of individuals in the pay of the British cabinet, the connexion is indeed injurious to Ireland, and it is rendered so by the parliament; but if we had a free parliament, there might be a federal connexion advantageous to both countries.

Sir J. Parnel.—Under that federal connexion Ireland would not go to war when England pleased.

Macneven.—I hope not. Were the connexion of this nature, it would probably have preserved England from the present war, and rendered her the same kind of service which might be expected from a free House of Commons, if she had one.

A Member.—What has hitherto prevented the French from invading this country?

Macneven.—Nothing, I am sure, but inability; this, however, will not always last; and I have not the least doubt but when it passes off they will invade it, unless by a change of system you content the nation, and arm it against them; it will then defend itself, as it did before by its volunteers.

Speaker.—What system?

Macneven.—A system of coercion, and a system of injustice, to be replaced by a system of freedom.

Sir J. Parnel.—Would you not be disposed, as well as other gentlemen who may have influence with the people, to exert it, in order to induce them to give up their arms, without the intervention of force?

Macneven.—I cannot answer that question, unless I am told what equivalent is meant to be given them for such a surrender.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pardon.

Macneven.—They never considered it a crime to have arms, nor do I; on the contrary, they have been taught and know it is a right of theirs to possess them. If any attempt is made to take from them their arms, they will mistrust the motives, and think, not without reason, that it is intended by such con-

duct to leave them naked, at the mercy of their enemies.

Sir J. Parnel.—Pikes are horrible weapons, and I don't know but a law might be passed against them.

Macneven.—I am sure I have seen as strange laws passed without any difficulty; but one might equally as well be made against muskets and bayonets.

Sir J. Parnel.—But pikes are not in the contemplation of the law which gives the subject the right of possessing arms.

Macneven.—I believe, Sir John, the law which declares that right to belong to every freeman, was partly obtained by the pike.

Speaker.—It was Magna Charta.

Lord Castlereagh.—What is likely to be the effect of the insurrection that has been just put down?

Macneven.—It will teach the people that caution which some of their friends less successfully endeavoured to inculcate; and I am afraid it will make them retaliate with a dreadful revenge the cruelties they suffered, whenever they have an opportunity.

Lord Castlereagh.—Will they, do you think, rise again?

Macneven.—Not, I believe, till the French come; but then, most assuredly, whenever they can join them.

Speaker.—Will the people consider themselves bound hereafter by the oaths of the Union?

Macneven.—I suppose they will.

Speaker.—Would you?

Macneven.—I who am going to become an emigrant from my country am dispensed from answering that

question; yet I acknowledge, were I to stay, I would think myself bound by them; nor can I discover any thing in what has passed to make it less my duty.

Speaker.—Ay, you consider a republican government more economical?

Macneven.—Corruption is not necessary to it.

Speaker.—How did you mean to pay the loan from Spain? I suppose from our forfeited estates.

Macneven.—Rather, sir, from your places and pensions. If I only take the pension list at £100,000, (it has been considerably higher, and I believe it is so still,) that alone would be sufficient to pay the interest of four times the half million we meant to borrow. I need not tell you that money can be got when the interest can be regularly paid. We conceive, also, there are several places with large salaries, for which the present possessors do no other service than giving votes in Parliament; another considerable fund would, we imagine, be found by giving these sums a different application.

Speaker.—Do you remember Mr. Grattan's motion about tithes? was not that a short cut towards putting down the Established Church?

Macneven.—If the stability of the Established church depends on the payment of tithes, the church stands on a weaker foundation than in civility I would have said of it; but sure I am, sir, that if tithes had been commuted according to Mr. Grattan's plan, a very powerful engine would have been taken out of our hands.

A Member.—Is not the Union much indebted to the Roman Catholic clergy?

Macneven.—The principle of burying all religious differences in oblivion was warmly embraced by the Catholic clergy; some of them became more active members of the Union, and I make no doubt but they are in general well affected to the liberties of their country.

Speaker.—Have not the priests a great influence over the people?

Macneven.—When they espouse the interests of the people, they are readily obeyed by them from the reliance that is placed on their better sense and education; when they oppose these interests, they are certainly found to have neither authority nor influence; of this I can give you two important examples. At the time the Catholic committee was opposed by the *sixty-eight*, together with Lord Kenmare and his *marksmen*, a priest, between Kilbeggan and Moate, who endeavoured to seduce his flock to support the slavish principles of that party, was well nigh *hanged* by his own parishioners, for what they deemed treachery to their interests. The other, a priest in the north, who thought fit to preach against the Union; the flock immediately left the chapel, and sent him word they would for that Sunday go to the meeting house, and that if he did not desist from such politics in future, they would come near him no more. Of such a nature, gentlemen, is the influence of the Catholic clergy.

Speaker.—Are the bishops much looked up to?

Macneven.—They are not, as far as I can learn, so well beloved or so much confided in by the people as the inferior clergy.

Speaker.—Can you assign any reason for that?

Macneven.—I am inclined to believe it is because they are seen so much about the Castle, and because some acts coming from that body, have manifested an over-extraordinary compliance for the supposed wishes of Government.

Speaker.—Did you see Dr. Hussey's letter? What do you think of that?

Macneven.—I have seen it, and disapprove of it. As one name and paper is mentioned, I cannot help saying, that I have seen another letter, with the name of Dr. Moylan, which contained a remarkable falsehood in favour of Administration; but as this was only a pious fraud perhaps, I could never hear that they complained of it.

Lord Castlereagh.—We will detain you no longer.

WILLIAM JAMES MACNEVEN.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM the period of Macneven's examination to that of his arrival in America, there are no matters of importance which have not been given in the preceding narrative. The following documents will serve to throw some additional light on the brief notice of his career in the United States:—

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MR. THOMAS O'CONNOR, OF NEW YORK, IN REFERENCE TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED SUBJECT.

"*New York, September 26th*, 1842.

"Although the history of my friend Macneven's career in America has no direct connexion with his earlier life in Europe, or his connexion with the endeavours to establish freedom in his native land, yet it serves to show how consistently he pursued and studied the interests of his country here. In the year 1816, a free office was opened in Nassau-street, (I believe the first of the kind established in the United States,) for the purpose of procuring employment for Irish emigrants, who were then arriving here in great numbers. It was attended with considerable

success. Besides employment obtained in the city and neighbourhood of New York, a vast number of them were directed to places in the interior where employment had been previously engaged for them. It was about this time a meeting was held in this city, at which all the distinguished Irishmen attended, the object of which was the settlement of Irish agriculturists on American lands, where, as owners of the soil, they would be respectable and independent. Dr. Macneven was either the Chairman, or an active and influential member of the meeting. As a result of that meeting an application was made to the Congress of the United States, for a portion of the public lands, on terms accommodating to the Irish, and not injurious to the interest of the Government. The petition for this purpose was favourably viewed by a large number of the members of the House of Representatives, but the question went against the Irish by a small majority, I think twelve.

"About the year 1827, he established a free office in Mott-street, with an object similar to that of the one in Nassau-street, and with somewhat similar success. He relied on the corporation of the city for some support, to be derived from the money levied on emigrants on their arrival here. This application met no favour from the corporation.

"He was likewise the originator, I believe, of an establishment, or free registry office, for the benefit of servants; the office continues open in Broadway, near Canal-street. Several years ago he wrote and published for the direction of emigrants, in pamphlet form, 'Directions or advice to Irishmen arriving

in America.' To it was attached directions for naturalization, by the late Thomas Addis Emmet. He was a member of nearly every Society formed in this city, having for its object the honour or the interest of his countrymen. One only he eschewed, because he considered it not sufficiently *national* in its views. In the year 1828-9, he was appointed President of the Society, 'The Friends of Ireland,' in New York, which contributed not a little to the means which ensured the success of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics. He was the first to move and to promote the erection of a splendid monument to the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmet.

"Dr. Macneven was as warm an advocate of the repeal of the Legislative Union between England and Ireland, as he had heretofore been a never-pausing advocate of the independence of his native land.

"THOMAS O'CONNOR."

In the spring of 1834, Macneven passed through one of those ordeals which men who take a part in public affairs in America have not unfrequently to go through. Jackson's removal of the deposits from the United States Bank had been publicly spoken of by Macneven as "unwise and unstatesman-like." Up to that period he had been a strenuous supporter of Jackson. A furious clamour was raised against him; he was accused of inconsistency, and, like every other person then opposed to the removal of the deposits, he was charged with being bribed by the bank to support its interests. The Jacksonite

press, and even the Irish press of America, assailed him in the fiercest manner, and the usual consequence of a warfare of this kind followed. Macneven was denounced, mobbed, and, in all probability, would have been maltreated, had he fallen into the hands of the enraged multitude; his house was besieged, some persons forced their way into it, terrified his family, and, having done so, returned to their homes, and, after a little time, to their senses. No small number of the lower orders of his own countrymen joined in this outrage on a man whose life had been devoted for twenty-nine years in that city to their interests.

On this trying occasion, when popular injustice and ingratitude might have been expected to have irritated and disgusted him, he gave expression to no complaint, manifested no annoyance, nor would suffer others to speak harshly of the treatment he had met with. "He said his poor countrymen had been deceived; they would soon find out their error, and make amends for their folly." In his communications to the press on this subject, he maintained the same tone of moderation; in the calm and philosophic spirit which was peculiar to his character, he pursued the even tenor of his way, and in a little time the usual mutability of public opinion was exhibited, and he found himself, as he expected, reinstated in his old position in public favour.

The most striking feature in Macneven's character, was an imperturbable coolness and self-possession, combined with the most remarkable simplicity of mind, and singleness of purpose; he was totally

devoid of fear in the maintenance of his principles, and of every species of affectation in the exhibition of a very high degree of moral courage, and a chivalrous sense of duty to the interests of humanity and justice.

There was a sort of stoic attachment in the fidelity of Macneven to his principles; but his politics were those of a philosopher, his patriotism was the widely extended benevolence of a catholic philanthropy. He talked of his devotion to his cause in language the least impassioned, of the enemies of his country in moderate and charitable terms; if a single virtue belonged to one of them, he presented it prominently before his hearers: it was a pleasure for him to descant upon some acts of Clare's which he believed were evidences of a nature originally generous. It was impossible to be in his society, and still less so on terms of intimacy with him, without observing the consistency of his opinions, and the rectitude of mind displayed in the expression of them. The same principles he set out in life with advocating, he upheld in his old age, without change or modification; but his mind was open to every improvement that was suggested in the mode of carrying them into effect. His principles, in short, were inflexible, and yet in temper and disposition, he was free from obstinacy, and as to jealousy of his associates, or envy of the prominence of their station, or the pre-eminence that might be claimed for their opinions or their acts, it was not in Macneven's nature to feel any thing of the sort.

There was nothing brilliant in his talents, or showy

in his conversation; his abilities, however, as a public speaker, were considerable, and one or two extracts from his early speeches in "The Back-lane Parliament," as it was called, will give some idea of the plain sound sense, and strong conviction of the truth and justice of his cause, which distinguished the speeches of Macneven.

But when the vices of those, whose profligacy in the gratification of their passions had made treason to their principles the means of replenishing their resources, were the subject of his remarks, it would be difficult to convey an idea of the solemn earnestness of his language, and of the vigour and expressive energy of the terms in which he described and reprobated the acts of such men as Reynolds. It was only on some such occasion that one could discover in the placid benignity of the old man's countenance, the tranquillity of its expression, the gentleness and suavity of his manner, the mildness of his tone of voice, traces of that energy of character which he displayed on many occasions which called for extraordinary intrepidity, presence of mind, quickness of observation, and promptness in taking advantage of the knowledge thus obtained.

The stuff that was requisite for a man in the occupation of a post beset with dangers, or a martyr to a cause which needed the demonstration of an attachment to it superior to the fear of death, was that which entered into the composition of Macneven. If the interests of that cause called for any extraordinary effort, though its issue were to prove fatal to him, Macneven would have walked to the scaffold

with the same air and aspect of composure that he would have gone with to his bed.

A friend of Dr. Macneven, who saw him for the last time in 1839, and saw with deep concern the change which had taken place in his appearance, being then evidently broken down in health, and fast approaching the termination of his career, made a memorandum of the subjects of conversation on which he expressed any opinion respecting the events or men of '98, or communicated any interesting information.

In speaking of Reynolds, Dr. Macneven said, "That villain did all he could to get evidence from himself to convict him, but he (Macneven) distrusted him, knowing him to be given to falsehood and inclined to gluttony. He never knew one who was a sensualist who was good for any thing in public business. He knew the mother of this man Reynolds well: she was a Geraldine, a shrewd intelligent old lady. He was her physician, attended her in her last illness, and believed she did not die a natural death."

"Immediately before the arrests at Bond's, Reynolds was desirous to entrap him into an admission of a guilty knowledge of the designs of the United Irishmen. Reynolds came to his house two or three days before the arrests in March, and asked for him. He came several times in the course of one day and also of the next. The Doctor determined to see him, and endeavour to find out if his suspicions were well founded. When he called at the Doctor's lodgings on Ormond Quay, Reynolds told him he had called to know where the Provincial Committee was

next to meet, and the object of it. Mr. Macneven had folded up a blank sheet of paper as a letter directed to Reynolds, and taking it up off the mantelpiece he said to Reynolds, 'Here is all the information I can give you on the subject;' fixing his eyes steadily at his face, 'but,' said he, 'as we have met, there is no occasion for the letter;' and he threw it into the fire. Such disappointment he never saw represented on the stage by an actor, as was depicted in the physiognomy of Reynolds. Here the written testimony, as he thought, that would have hanged his victim, he was on the point of getting hold of, and in a moment it was in the flames; and still greater disappointment was exhibited when he (Macneven) said, 'How do you suppose, sir, that I should know any thing of the matter?' Reynolds went away; his purpose was defeated, and he felt that he was suspected."

"The policy of Government was to make us exaggerate our sentiments—to inebriate our opinions, in order to drive us to desperate courses, and then take advantage of our folly. There was one infamous paper, the *Union Star*, which was made to advocate assassination, and to express sentiments hateful to the United Irishmen. These efforts were denounced by the *Press;* but the *Press* was prosecuted, and the *Union Star* allowed to escape unpunished. The editor was a bad man."

"A certain Lord said, just previous to the breaking out of the rebellion, 'The country must be made sick of republicanism; they (the people) must be maddened with liberty principles before they have had

enough of anarchy, and are forced to come back to us for good government.'"

"Lord Clare was a sort of an Irishman in feeling; with all his vices, he was not of the same class as Lord Castlereagh; his blood was warm, and he was susceptible of generous emotions."

"Sir L. Parsons (the late Lord Ross) was the most staunch democrat, as he thought, of all the men of their party; his change of politics surprised him amazingly."

"Grattan would not have been so much thought of, if it had not been for Clare's hostility to him. They hated one another: Grattan checked Clare's vices; Clare stimulated Grattan's patriotism."

"There were a great many persons of high rank, and even some holding official situations, who were in the confidence of the United Irishmen, watching the turn that things would take, and ready to shape their course accordingly. A general officer in the British service was in the interest of the United Irishman; a privy counsellor was likewise friendly to their society, and frequently serviceable to it."

"Neither Grattan nor Curran were United Irishmen; with the former they entered very little into communication; it was known, in the event of success he would have accepted an important appointment in the new Government; but Curran was continually consulted by them, knew every thing that was going on, and his whole heart was in the cause; but he was never committed to it by attending any meeting or taking any oath. The officer, Captain Nugent, who arrested him (Macneven) at his lodgings on Ormond Quay passed Lord Edward on

the stairs, and allowed him to leave the house, not knowing who he was. He (Macneven) was taken to the Castle and brought before Lords Clare and Castlereagh; they put several questions to him; he declined to answer any, he said he had nothing to answer."

"Secretary Marsden visited the prisoners at Kilmainham, spoke kindly to them, told them that Rufus King objected to their going to America, they must think of some other country; they said their principles were those of America; he replied, 'Perhaps they imagine they have too many republicans there already.'"

"George Nugent Reynolds was a man of extraordinary wit and humour; he wrote his beautiful songs currente calamo. The best of them or of any in our language was his 'Green were the fields where my forefathers dwelt, Oh.' He died at an inn in England on his way to Stow, to visit the Duke of Buckingham."

"Neilson's boy and Emmet's were educated by the prisoners at Fort George; each of them instructing the boys in some particular branch of education. Neilson's son was a remarkably fine boy."

"The Shearses took no ostensible part in the business in Dublin, until after the arrests at Bond's; there was a gap then, and they filled it up. They knew Lord Edward; but he (Dr. Macneven) was not intimately acquainted with them."

"John was rather a free thinker in religious matters; expressed himself too openly; he was wrong in so doing, even though he might have given no preference to any particular form of religion, or made no

profession of conformity to any; he considered it a proof of bad sense and bad feeling to make any parade of opinions on such subjects opposed to those generally entertained."

"Lord Edward Fitzgerald had a great deal more of mind than is generally imagined by those who are supposed to be conversant with the history of those times. He had no pretensions, no purpose, but to serve Ireland and promote her interests he would have served in the ranks as a common soldier."

"Anthony M'Cann, 'the Exile of Erin,' exiled previous to 1798; he was a handsome man, with a dejected cast of countenance; he lived at Altona. His first acquaintance with the lady he married was somewhat singular. From some unknown benefactress, when his circumstances were embarrassed, immediately after his exile, he received a new year's gift of a considerable sum of money. The following year the same act of beneficence was repeated. He then discovered the person, who proved to be a rich widow lady, and in a short time 'the Exile of Erin' was no longer an unhappy man. He had heard from him about two years ago."

"T. A. Emmet was simple in his tastes and manners, went little into society, loved his family, read much; his first speech at the bar in the United States was in the defence of a slave; his last effort in a court of law was in behalf of a charitable institution. This was as it should be with his career.'

"Emmet always spoke of his brother Temple as one of the first men of his age. The attornies of Dublin told him (Macneven) that Thomas Addis

Emmet had few if any superiors at the bar. One of the best pictures of Emmet was painted by Benjamin West, and is now in possession of the Fulton family."

"His (Macneven's) views for Ireland were now limited to a domestic legislature for the business of the country, not extending to foreign policy; continuing to be a part of the English monarchy, subject to the king of England; no Church Establishment; no tithes. All schemes for the advantage of Ireland, short of this, were futile."

To a question of the daughter of Macneven, "Whether it was likely the Government would let her father go back to Ireland, and afford him the gratification of feeling it was in his power to return to his country, though he might never avail himself of the permission?" Macneven did not allow the person addressed to answer. He said, "It is too late to think of that; his lot was cast there; and he had few, if any, relations now living. The few who were living were in the county Donegal."

The last time Dr. Macneven ever addressed a public meeting, was at a dinner on the festival of St. Patrick, 1837, at which he presided, in New York. The following extracts are copied from the report of that address, published in the *Green Banner*.

"It is a consolation to us to know that Ireland has to aid her, in this inveterate conflict, many eminent sons of exalted genius and burning patriotism, to all of whom we owe the expression of our admiration and gratitude; but we will begin with him, the Hercules of her host, the slayer of the monster—religious persecution, whose long and invaluable services

place him first in the remembrance of his countrymen—The Liberator. The toast is naturally answered by the heartfelt cheer of every true Irishman. Nor this alone. The illustrious subject of your homage merits the admiration of mankind, for his ability and success in establishing religious freedom in his country, without the contamination of crime or bloodshed; as he is now prosecuting her liberation from civil bondage, without violence or war. The course of Mr. O'Connell forms, in some sort, a new era, well worth the consideration of whoever would win liberty and preserve order in other places subjected, like Ireland, to foreign and domestic servitude. He is now engaged in a great experiment, which the philosopher is looking to with hope, and the oligarch with dismay,—an experiment on the reforming power of reason, the cogency of argument, the pressure of public opinion, and the novel efficiency of sullen but resolute inaction, that, without abandoning its purpose, waits for its opportunity. With the unwearied application of his powerful talents he rouses his countrymen to an indignant sense of their degrading condition, while, in the same breath, he engages their intelligence in the schooling of universal discussion. His constitutional agitation is a moral lever, that has its fulcrum in the hearts and arms of millions of a valiant people, whose universal mind he has disciplined to co-operation and method."

* * * *

"While reviewing the operation and effects of Mr. O'Connell's system of agitation, for it is now a system, and may be denominated the Irish process of

reform, we are struck with the frequent and sometimes simultaneous assemblages of large masses of the people, congregating in regular bodies with the power and advantages of organization, taught to collect, obey, and act by superior orders. These are things that exhibit to us a great and satisfactory gain in public liberty and personal safety, such as might happen in New York, where a citizen is free to do any thing and every thing, that does not infringe the law. But Irishmen had not this privilege in the calamitous days of the convention and gunpowder bills when the sanguinary daring of a Clare, a Foster, and a Castlereagh, stifled all remonstrance at the outset, sent the riot act and the soldiery to the public meeting, and trampled the press under the mercenary's heel. At that time the moral power was not suffered to act, to discuss, to agitate. It could not then regenerate Dublin, any more than it can now regenerate Vienna, Berlin, or St. Petersburgh. It is doubtless the best agent of reformation, provided there exist enough freedom of speech and action to give scope to its efficacy. In this lies the great difference between Ireland now and in 1798. There remained then but one mode of redress. It was that embraced by America, under circumstances similar but not equal. There is now another way, directly contrary, but, in altered circumstances, far better. Who would now, in this country, under any excitement of the tariff controversy, seize, by force of arms, a ship in Boston harbour and throw her cargo overboard, when a town meeting and a memorial to Congress would effect all that was proper or needful?

No doubt Adams, and Washington, and Jefferson, were guilty of high treason, when they embraced the only alternative left; yet these noble patriots, all determined as they were, need not, in our days and altered circumstances, burn a priming to bring about the happiest revolution that was ever achieved. We must all prefer to the most successful use of physical violence, the moral, peaceful revolution which Mr. O'Connell is now effecting by the masterly employment of the powers acquired to his country since 1798. But his machinery of honest, staid agitation no man could work at that time. His present organization of agitation was then impossible. Perhaps it is not in accordance with facts, to ascribe to any leader of United Irishmen, the committal of the country in 1798. The beginning of hostilities may come from either party, and to those who are versed in modern Irish history it is not unknown that the English Government, through its Irish agents, intended, fomented, enacted the insurrection of 1798, in like manner as it had stirred up war, in other times, for ulterior purposes. Had the torture then widely inflicted, the pitch cap ignited on the peasant's head, the brand blazing in his thatch, been again encouraged by the Government, even the controlling, constitutional eloquence of the Liberator himself might fail to restrain the outbursting of manhood. We have seen the case occur when the Government was the instigator to insurrection, and then the cruel and unrelenting avenger. Surely here is sufficient to justify revolution in its rise, and, thank Heaven! not always without cause to bless it in its issue.

We live in the midst of a specimen of what revolu tion has done to raise obscure provinces into th most prosperous empire on the face of earth. Bu whether to bear the ills we have, or to encounte others, does not admit of a general solution. Eacl case must be judged by the circumstances of the time and the chances of success. Those circumstances, a the period of 1798, were the war then raging betwee England and France, against whose jacobin excesse she raised all Europe in arms; while her own acts, in Ireland, religious and civil, were equal to whatevei she stigmatized as heinous in her rival; to whom, in fact, she reproached no crime that could not b retorted from her own practice."

FRAGMENT OF A NARRATIVE RESPECTING HIS FAMILY, COMMENCED BY DR. W. J. MACNEVEN.

"*New York, August* 23, 1837.

"To gratify my wife and children, and at thei earnest desire, I have undertaken to compose some notes on myself and family. In younger days I had dreams of celebrity, which could be gained, I thought, by giving a proper view of the heartstirring subjects with which I was conversant; but more important cares have absorbed my prime, and a family memoir is all that remains for the completion of my declining years. However imperfect, it will be valued by my relations, and even fame, were it attained, is less precious than their love."

"*New York, Thursday, March* 12, 1840.

"Began these memoranda. I was born, I believe, in 1763, on the 21st of March. My family possessed, in fee simple, a small landed estate in the county of Galway, about a mile south from Aughrim and Kilcommodan Hill. An eventful battle was fought there on the 12th July, 1691, between the forces of King James the Second, and King William, and my early intimacy with every inch of the field gave my thoughts, ever after, an invariable direction to the unfortunate relations of Ireland with England. My mother was the daughter of a gentleman in the neighbourhood, of the name of Dolphin, and my kindred of that side continued to hold a respectable standing in the country. Until about the age of ten, I passed through the nearest schools. Ballinasloe and Archreagh had each a good English and Latin teacher, and I acquired, under them, a moderate knowledge of the rudiments of English and Latin grammar. Though fonder of play than of my book, yet I never lost sight of the head of the class, and often arrived at that gratifying distinction.

"My paternal uncle, Baron Macneven, was at this time living at Prague; he was chief physician to the Empress-queen Maria Theresa, and President of the Faculty of Medicine in the university of that city. He was also a man of good fortune, of eminent talents and learning, and persons of the best society took pleasure in frequenting his house. He sent for me to become an inmate in his family, and receive the advantages of an extensive and excellent educa-

tion. A favourable opportunity presented itself, in the return of an officer in the Austrian service, who was going back, after a visit to his relatives in the county of Meath. In passing along Rogerson's Quay early in the morning, in our way to the Holyhead packet, I saw two fine looking men brought from a back yard under a guard of soldiers, and handcuffed before my face; I learned they were American prisoners, and heard them say to the soldiery—Though their own lot was a hard one, they would be happy to meet the enemy another time on Bunker's Hill. This incident awoke my attention to the events of the American war, and made me a willing reader of the English papers in my uncle's circle, when they brought us the glories of Washington, and the defeats of the British army.

"My father was descended from one of that national party that stood out for Ireland in the war of Cromwell, and who were ultimately driven by the conqueror into the wilds behind the Shannon, not knowing where else to banish them. There my family lived, like others of the old race, in obscurity and independence, true to their religion, full of love of Irish nationality, traditionary pride, and aversion to England."

COPY OF A PAPER RESPECTING MR. EMMET, FOUND AMONG MACNEVEN'S PAPERS.

"In 1802, when T. A. Emmet arrived in Brussels from Hamburgh, his brother Robert came to meet him from Paris, and stayed there until towards November, when he returned to his family in Ireland.

At the time he was in Brussels, he (Robert) had no knowledge of any design being then entertained in Ireland to make another attempt to throw off the British yoke; but communications were soon made to him when in Dublin, supported by returns and details, which gave him assurance that the population of seventeen counties would be brought to act, if only one successful effort were made in the metropolis, and to secure this, select bodies of men were to arrive unknown in the city from different quarters. It was hard to reject the proposition of taking part in the enterprise, and difficult to attain any other knowledge of the reality of the means than what was furnished by the persons who projected, proposed, and were to be performers in the proposed undertaking. There is no doubt but a great part of the country would have risen, and was prepared to do so, if Dublin had been carried, and in that event the war would have been general in less than a week."

MEMORANDUM FOUND AMONG DR. MACNEVEN'S PAPERS RESPECTING THE STATE PRISONERS AT FORT GEORGE.

"The several prisoners in Fort George had embraced some particular course of reading and study, to which they applied with far more assiduity than if they only read for amusement. Emmet applied himself chiefly to mathematics, or, more properly, to algebra, in which he made signal proficiency, and to which he was so devoted, that for whole months he employed the greater portion of his nights in the study of this science. He had little or no acquaint-

ance with it when he arrived at Fort George, but it chanced that Euler's Algebra came among the books we received there; this opened the subject to him, and he afterwards prosecuted it with the greatest assiduity, until the arrival of Mrs. Emmet and three of his children divided his attention. After this period Shakspeare was his favourite reading; he never touched a law book while at Fort George, and had made up his mind to purchase land and turn farmer in America. Having embraced this project, he never disturbed his mind with any other schemes, but waited tranquilly for his release, and the opportunity it would afford. He was remarkable for great equanimity and good temper through the whole of his confinement; he was also exempt from any disease during that time; his stomach was never out of order, and his palate so undistinguishing, that provided he got sufficient food, he was careless of the kind and almost of the quality; he was, however, moderate in the quantity, and very abstemious as to drink, so that repletion never injured his health or his faculties."

LETTER FROM DR. MACNEVEN.

"*New York, July* 10*th*, 1837.

"Dear Sir,—It is full time I should return you thanks for your kind letter of the 1st inst., but though slow in acknowledging your valuable communication, I lost no time in making a proper use of its important contents. I at once communicated a clear abstract of them, to one of our liberal, widely circulating

papers, and for their correction, or their shame, our rulers and our public were soon informed of the unworthy use that is made of our flag to favour and facilitate the slave trade. Just now I have seen extracts from the report of the British commissioners of the 1st of January, 1836, concerning the transport of slaves from Cuba to Texas. You are probably aware that the inhabitants of the slave states are generally desirous of the separation of Texas from Mexico and its annexation to the Union. Their object being to extend and consolidate slavery, with a view of increasing and strengthening their power in Congress. Should this scheme succeed, the people here, and all to the eastward, already tell us that they will be driven, in self-defence, to foster the discontents in Canada, favour the separation of those provinces, and promote their annexation to this extremity of the Union, as a counterpoise to the south.

"In this state of things I often wish that facilities were afforded to my poor Irish countrymen to settle at Texas, where they would at once possess a quantum of ground, power, and wealth, that would give them a real home, consideration, and happiness. There is great jealousy of them in the United States, and it is increasing daily, for their numbers are multiplying very fast, and the natives think that these foreigners, as they call them, interfere too much. There actually exists a dislike to them, notwithstanding the immense good they do. It would be a great matter for those who might remain here if there was another good place to which they would be welcome. You may offer Canada, but it is not worth occupying

alongside the United States; whereas Texas would form an invaluable settlement for rich and poor.

" Mrs. Macneven joins me in best respects to Mrs. ———, and in every good wish for you and your family.

" Yours sincerely,

" Wm. Js. Macneven."

FROM DR. MACNEVEN TO THE SAME. THE FOLLOWING PORTION OF A LETTER WAS FOUND UNFINISHED AMONG HIS PAPERS:—

" Dear Sir,—I am long indebted to you for an acknowledgment and return of letters, and hope you will never have such cause of apology for similar omissions as but too painfully exculpate me. The inability caused by too long and severe sickness, was the first, though not the worst, of those impediments. The illness and death of a beloved daughter, which happened in that interval, leave a wound that cannot be healed or forgotten. But to hear from you was still a gratification. I was disappointed at not obtaining any circumstantial or satisfactory information from your friend Sir Edward H——, respecting Lord Edward's family. He told me he was born and brought up in England, and knew little of the Irish history of his family. But I am glad to see that you are employing yourself upon Irish history, and I trust that you will cause it to be better known. Mr. Warden acquaints me, from Paris, that a General O' Neil, in that city, is preparing a work on Ireland, and desirous of receiving materials from this country. Yet there

are so few here who take an interest in the subject, and all are so intent upon their own affairs, that very little can be obtained. I have learned that Arthur O'Connor likewise is preparing for the press a work of a similar nature. I am now retired to the country, where I purpose to pass the remainder of my days. I am pretty old, and with this my domestic loss age leaves me no taste for a more public life. I am not rich, but have a comfortable independence for self and family, and in this country it is enough."

The preceding letter was written a short time before his death. That event took place at the house of his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Emmet, at Harlaem, in the 78th year of his age. The following account of the funeral arrangement and interment of his remains is taken from the *New York Freeman's Journal* of July 17th, 1841:—

"On Wednesday morning, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the rain pouring in torrents, one of the largest funeral processions that has ever been witnessed in this city moved from Mr. Emmet's house to St. Patrick's cathedral, where it arrived a few minutes after twelve o'clock. The scene in the cathedral was truly solemn and affecting. The pulpit was shrouded in black, and on the altar were laid all the habiliments of mourning customary on such occasions. The coffin was laid on a bier in the central aisle in front of the altar, and covered with a funeral pall of fine black cloth reaching to the floor and with a deep white edging, and on it were laid a

number of burning lights in silver candlesticks. The Right Rev. Bishop Hughes officiated in pontificals, such as are worn in the solemn services for the dead, black vestments, with a white cope and a mitre of the same colour, entirely plain and devoid of ornament. All was peculiarly impressive. The swelling tones of the organ and the chaunting by the choir of the mournful requiem for the departed soul; the prayers of the bishop, and the holy incense arising in clouds from the burning censors held by the acolytes around the 'narrow tenement' in which were laid the sole earthly remains of one so great and good,—all conspired to fill the hearts and souls of those present with the most saddening emotions. We could not forbear at the time recalling to mind, and contrasting with the scene before us, that most eventful period in the life of him who now lay silent in death, when he and the Fitzgeralds, and Emmets, and Tones, and Sampsons, and hundreds and thousands besides of noble hearts, rose up to avenge their country's wrongs, to save her, to redeem her from the misery of the insulted down-trodden captive, which she had so long and so bitterly endured. But beset with foes, and spies, and traitors, their cause was lost. And where, we inwardly inquired, was all that gallant band? An Emmet on the scaffold—Fitzgerald, the lion-hearted, set upon after the manner of assassins, and borne down beneath the daggers of a hired soldiery—death in its most terrible forms, chains, and the dungeon, and exile. Such was the fate of those who loved their altars and the homes of

their fathers. The time and the circumstances around us were indeed well calculated to call up sorrowful memories.

"It was consoling, however, amid all the grief which it occasioned, to see this time-honoured patriot go down to his rest so tranquilly and so surrounded with all that could give peace to the departing spirit. Friends without number—love and respect on every side—all the aids of religion in the hour of extremity, and his obsequies honoured by the offices of a holy Bishop of that faith for which he had in his lifetime suffered and so zealously contended.

"After the funeral services in the cathedral, the procession in carriages moved to the East River at the foot of Grand-street, from which place the body was accompanied by the relatives and pall-bearers to the family burying ground at Newtown, in Long Island."

The medical career of Dr. Macneven is recorded in the *New York Medical Gazette* of August 11th, 1841.

"Dr. Macneven was sent to Germany for his education at an early age, and continued there for ten years, taking his degree of doctor of physic at Vienna, in 1784. He returned that year to Dublin, and entered upon the practice of his profession in Dublin. * * * He landed in New York, July 4th, 1805. He immediately entered on the practice of his profession, and in 1808 was appointed professor of midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1811, he exchanged his chair for that of chemistry. In 1812, he was appointed resident

physician by Governor Clinton. In 1816, materia medica was added to chemistry, and he gave instruction on both branches till 1820, when they were again separated.

"In 1826, he resigned his professorship in the College of Physicians, and united with Drs. Hosack, Francis, Mott, and Godman, in the Duane-street School. Here, the chair of materia medica was again assigned him. This school was discontinued in 1830, and at that point Dr. Macneven closed his career as a teacher. In 1832, during the cholera, he was chosen one of the medical council, to whom was assigned the supervision of the hospitals and other establishments for the sick. In 1840, he was again appointed resident physician, an office which he resigned a few weeks before his death. He published, in 1820, an exposition of the atomic theory, which attracted favourable notice both at home and abroad, and about the same time, an edition of Brande's Chemistry, which is extensively used as a text book. As a lecturer, he was simple, clear, and animated; as a practitioner, judicious and efficient; as a man, amiable, honest and kind hearted; as a patriot, ardent, active, bold, disinterested: with him, the love of country was a passion as well as a principle, and when that country shall cease to cherish his memory, she will be utterly unworthy of him."

Published by Maull & Co.

SOME DATA FOR A MEMOIR

OF

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

CHAPTER XIV.

HAD Arthur O'Connor not been living, the memoir of his life must have occupied a prominent place in a work of this description, on account of the position in which he stood in the directory of the United Irishmen, as the earliest and foremost member of the southern executive, and of his stand in society and in political life; as a descendant of an ancient race, a man of independent fortune, of considerable influence, no less from his connexions than his brilliant talents, who had distinguished himself in Parliament, in the press, at public meetings, and who moved in the first society both in England and in Ireland.

It is the province of history to deal with the character and conduct of those whose feelings can be neither pained nor pleased by the recital of their acts, nor by the expression of opinion on the nature of them, and who are beyond the reach of prejudice or partiality. Where a man, however, has to some extent anticipated the task of the historian, there can be

no impropriety in giving at any time such details c his life as have been communicated by him, or i recording well established facts, which admit not c doubt, and require no comment, but serve rather a data for future use than as statements from which judgment on character is to be formed.

The notes which follow these observations may b regarded as an outline of a biographical sketch, (as fa as it's information goes authentic,) taken from a do cument which purports to be a series of replies t a number of queries which had been addressed t Lieut.-Gen. O'Connor; and the substance of the an swers to these queries is given here in a consecutiv form, without any comment or intermixture of othe matter. It is hardly necessary to add, that the forn in which the information appears in this communica tion is very different from that in which an unbroke narrative might be expected from a man whose abi lities, in the way of composition as well as in con versation, are acknowledged to be of the very highes order.

"Arthur O'Connor was born at Mitchelstown near Bandon, on the 4th of July, 1763. His fa ther lived at Connorville, in the county of Cork He was a man of very large landed property; h passed his life and expended his income in th country. His mother was the only sister of Lor Longueville, and a woman of considerable talents an acquirements. She died at Connorville, in 1780, age 48. His father died at the same place at th age of 70, and both were buried at Kinsale. Arthu O'Connor, at an early age, was placed at a public

school at Lismore, and subsequently at one at Castle Lyons. He entered Dublin College, as fellow-commoner, in 1779, under Mr. Day. He had four brothers and three sisters; the three sisters died unmarried. Arthur O'Connor was the youngest son; he was called to the Irish bar in 1788, but did not practise. He was educated in the Protestant religion. In 1807, he married the only child of Condorcet; he had three sons, one of whom only is living. He inherited £1500 a-year paternal property.

"He was devoted, from the period of his college life, to literary pursuits, but political economy was the favourite study of his life. He became a member of the society of United Irishmen in 1796, and he and Lord Edward Fitzgerald constituted the first Leinster directory. He never took any oath. He had great confidence in the whole of the Northern directory, though less in the steadiness of one still living than in that of some others. Of the Southern directory, he had implicit confidence in Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Bond, and Jackson. He never was in a directory with Emmet.

"The first directory of the United Irishmen was the Northern, there being no organization of the United Irish in the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught until two years later, when the Northern directory was organized. It consisted of the two Simmses, Neilson, Tennant, and two others, whose names he does not remember. During the time the affairs of the United Irish were governed by the Northern directory and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and himself, all hope of obtaining Catholic emanci-

pation and reform was utterly abandoned, and they then looked to separation.

"When O'Connor first applied to Emmet to be of the directory with Jackson and Bond, he declined it. It was not until O'Connor was confined in the Tower of Dublin that Emmet became one of the directory.

"The first Southern directory consisted only of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and O'Connor. The second of Jackson, Bond, Macneven, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and O'Connor.

"It is an error to put Emmet in the directory with Bond and Jackson; he was not in it until long after. Emmet was not an United Irishman when the French alliance was formed. He objected to the views of the other leaders, and menaced the directory to denounce them to Government if they carried into execution the resolution that was taken, to begin the insurrection. He (O'Connor) was from early life of republican principles, imbibed at the time of the American revolution. At no time of his life, neither before he spoke in the Irish House of Commons, nor subsequently, has he varied from those principles. His uncle, Lord Longueville, knew perfectly well, when he gave him a seat in Parliament in 1791 for the borough of Phillipstown, what were his principles, and he (O'Connor) only accepted the seat on the condition of being entirely free.

"It may be easily conceived that the debates of the Irish House of Commons could seldom interest an unflinching republican. Before the great Catholic question in 1795 he seldom spoke. However, in

February, 1792, he made a speech on the Indian question, grounded on the principles of political economy. That speech caused Pitt to offer his uncle, Lord Longueville, an immediate place of Commissioner in the Revenue, with a promise of the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This offer was refused by O'Connor.

"He does not believe there was an efficient or any directory after the month of March, 1798.

"Before General O'Connor negotiated, in 1796, the treaty for the United Irish, with the agent of the French Directory, of which General Hoche's expedition was the result, there never had been any other treaty before that with France. In 1796, he and Lord Edward had an interview with Hoche on the French frontiers, and subsequently negociations were entered into with Buonaparte. Buonaparte had a true intention to invade England, and had an army of 20,000 men in readiness for it, when the intelligence of the new designs of Austria and Russia caused that intention to be given up.

"He did not visit France in 1797 or 1798; he was then in prison. He was arrested in the beginning of 1797, and imprisoned in the Tower of Dublin six months, and in May, 1798, he was tried at Maidstone. The only witness against him was one Lane, who had been his sub-sheriff for the county Cork.

"Cox appeared at Maidstone, and came there, from the interest he took in an event which involved the life of O'Connor. He remained always faithful to him, and also to Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Whatever changes may have taken place in his conduct,

it was not until after Lord Edward's death and O'Connor's exile. While there was a chance of success, he was one of the staunchest men in Ireland to their cause.

"It is a great error to confound the conduct of Cox, during the time the Union lasted, with his conduct since it ceased. There was not a single man in the Union, south or north, be he who he may, that was more staunch or zealous than Cox, and he (O'Connor) had the strongest proof of it. It was when General O'Connor was in the Tower of Dublin that Cox set up the *Union Star;* and the first thing General O'Connor did, in coming out of the Tower of Dublin, was to convince Cox of the evil his paper was capable of producing, and instantly he discontinued it. It would be absurd to suppose the Government could support a journal that made them all tremble for their lives.

"As far as he could learn, no one betrayed Lord Edward Fitzgerald. He believes the imprudent visits Neilson paid him were the cause of his being discovered. Certainly Neilson never betrayed him.

"The paper called the *Harp of Erin*, published in Cork, was established chiefly by Roger O'Connor, and was almost exclusively filled by him.

"The *Press* was the paper of Arthur O'Connor. He believes the letters signed 'Marcus' were written by Swift. He does not now recollect who wrote under the signature 'Montanus.' At this day it is utterly impossible to discover the authors of what was written in the *Press*. The box for the articles was generally

so full that the editor had but to select, and that without occupying himself with the names of the authors, a thing we studiously avoided; for instance, we had reason to think that Dr. Drennan wrote for the *Press*, but, as he was cautious, we denied it.

"A great many of the apparent supporters of Government made offers of their services to him under the seal of secrecy, but their object was to have two strings to their bow.

"He was kept in solitary imprisonment in the Birmingham Tower, in Dublin, six months; in the Tower of London, two months; in the Maidstone prison, three months; in the Marshalsea prison in Dublin, three months; in Kilmainham prison, three months; in Newgate, about two months; and four years and three months at Fort George, in Scotland.

"There were persons who were opposed to him, who had communications with France, and this party was reorganized at Paris in 1803. Their plans were connected with Robert Emmet's plot, but were not communicated to him by them, but they were divulged to him by the French government, who continued to treat with him as the accredited Irish ambassador, recognised as such by it, and known only as such by the Irish directory. The person in Paris, who in this party had the most influence, was Russell, and the project devised by him and Emmet gave the finishing blow to the United Irish confederacy. Buonaparte, in conversing with General O'Connor, expressed himself unfavourably of the attempt, and of those engaged in it.

"It was in 1803 that Buonaparte gave his opinion to

O'Connor, that Ireland contained but two millions—he read it in some old geography.

"The place of the intended debarkment of Hoche's expedition has never transpired; the knowledge of it was confined to Hoche and himself. Despard's attempt was wholly foreign to the affairs of Ireland.

"Thomas Emmet communicated the plans his party had formed to the French government, from whom General O'Connor had them.

"The Shearses had very little to do in the Union; *they acted without the Union, and of themselves*, and for a short time before they were cut off; the fact is, they did not make themselves known to the directory. As to M'Cabe, the French government acquired the proof that he was a double spy. General O'Connor saved his life with the Minister of War, the Duke of Feltre, after it had been discovered that in London he had intercourse with persons in some of the public offices in Downing-street.

"The 'Biographie des Contemporains' gives a most erroneous and incorrect list of what O'Connor has published. The following is a correct list of his published writings:—A pamphlet, in 1794, signed, 'A Stoic,' entitled 'The Measures of a Ministry to prevent a Revolution, are the certain Means of bringing it on,' published by Sweeney, Cork; and Eaton, 74, Newgate-street; 'His Speech on the Catholic Question,' May 4, 1795; his 'State of Ireland,' in 1798, addressed to the Irish nation; two addresses to the free electors of the county of Antrim, one of October 22, 1796, the other January

20, 1797; his 'Letter to Lord Castlereagh, from his Prison,' January, 1797; in 1803, 'The State of Great Britain; a Letter to General Lafayette,' published at Paris in French, and in London in English in 1831. He has kept no note of the numerous articles he has written in the newspapers."

CHAPTER XV.

We have already stated, this slight sketch of O'Connor is not intended to give a full account of his career. It is said, that for several years past he has been engaged in writing his own memoirs. Our task is confined to the use of information respecting his early life and political views, and those of the society he was connected with, which has been furnished by himself. The preceding paper throws some little light on the former; the two documents that follow, afford a great deal of information respecting the latter. In the Parliamentary report, the examinations of O'Connor occupy a single page. In his own report of them, published in London, along with those of Emmet and Macneven, they occupy twenty-six pages. This report of his is therefore inserted. O'Connor's well-known Letter to Lord Castlereagh; his Letters on the State of the Nation, and to the Electors of Antrim, have been frequently reprinted, and are within everybody's reach; but there is a letter of his, comparatively speaking, little known, on his assuming the editorship of the *Press* chiefly, as he states, for the exposition of the frequent use of torture, nearly five

months before the outbreak of the rebellion, which is deserving of the attention of every man who feels, or professes to feel, any concern in matters of vital moment to the interests of humanity.

The 2nd of January, 1798, O'Connor published the following letter in the *Press*:—

"To the Irish Nation.

"Countrymen,

"Since the conviction and sentence passed on the printer of the *Press*, a clause has been pointed out by the Commissioners of Stamps, which lay lurking in one of the late Parliament's acts, unknown to the lawyers; whereby a printer convicted of a libel shall be deprived of his property in the paper in which it had been inserted. By this law, in such perfect conformity with all the other acts of a parliament, which, in the words of a great and good man, 'has taken more from the liberties, and added more to the burdens of the people,' and, I may say, stained the statute book with more penal laws than any parliament that ever yet existed, it has become necessary that on the spur of the instant, from this unforeseen clause, another proprietor should come forward to save the Irish *Press* from being put down. To perform that sacred office to this best benefactor of mankind has devolved upon me; and rest assured I will discharge it with fidelity to you and our country, until some one more versed in the business can be procured. Every engine of force and corruption has been employed by these ministers, into whose hands, unfortunately for the present peace, and the future repose

of the nation, unlimited power has been invested, to discover whether I was the proprietor of the *Press*. Had they sent to me, instead of lavishing your money amongst perjurers, spies, and informers, I would have told them what now I tell you. I did set up the *Press*, though, in a legal sense, I was not the proprietor; nor did I look to any remuneration; and I did so because from the time that, in violation of property, in subversion of even the appearance of respect for the laws, and to destroy not only the freedom of the press, but the press itself, the present ministers demolished the *Northern Star*, no paper in Ireland, either from being bought up, or from the dread and horror of being destroyed, would publish an account of the enormities which these very ministers had been committing: where they not only suffered a lawless banditti of sworn extirpators to destroy the property, to raze the habitations, and to drive thousands of ruined families to the most distant parts of the country, for want of protection, but where the strongest suspicions rested, that they had given encouragement to such diabolical acts, under the name of loyalty, and the mask of religion; where they let loose an excited soldiery, to commit acts of outrage which no invading army of any country in Europe would have practised without violating those laws established amongst civilized nations; where the torch had consumed their houses and property in entire districts, and summary murders had been wantonly perpetrated: where thousands have been hurried into those multiplied dungeons, and thousands sent to the gallows

on 'suspicion of being suspected' of *reform* and *union;* and, above all, where *torture* has been applied in numerous instances to extort confession of what, by the Insurrection Act, has been judged worthy of death, but, as I read it, by the strictest rules and injunctions of Christian morality has been enforced as a paramount duty; '*that torture*' which our ancestors held in such inveterate abhorrence, that its utter exclusion was esteemed so fundamental a part of our constitutional code, that neither that Stuart, nor his ministers, whose heads paid the forfeit of the crimes they committed, nor the ministers of that Stuart who was expelled, durst introduce it. I could cite myriads of facts to substantiate the suppression of the publication of these enormous atrocities, but I will confine myself to the mention of one, which has come within my own knowledge. Whilst I was confined in the Tower, the soldiers who were stationed all around it, fired up at the prison, and on being asked why they had fired without having challenged, or any pretext for so doing, they answered, '*that they had acted according to the orders they got.*' As I was the only person confined in the prison, no doubt could remain that these orders were issued for the purpose of assassination. A gentleman who had been an eye-witness of the attempt, took a statement of facts to the *Evening Post,* which was, at that time, esteemed the least corrupted paper in Dublin, but the editor told him, that fearing that his house and his press might experience the fate of the *Northern Star,* he would not insert it, although, the next day, not only that

print, but every other paper in town, contained an account of the transaction, in which there was not one word of truth, except the admission that the shots had been fired! From the moment I was enlarged from the Tower, I determined to free the *Press* from this dastardly thraldom, that the conduct of those ministers might be faithfully published; and whilst a beloved brother is confined in a cell nine feet square, against every form of law, and the plighted faith of this administration, I take this opportunity to call on Lord Camden to tell you, and the world, what inquiry has been made, or what punishment has been inflicted on the perpetrators of an act, which, if brought home to his administration, must affix a greater stain on his name than the ever memorable days of September have indelibly left on Robespierre and his gang of assassins; whose government was supported by burning of houses, destruction of property, massacreing the people, and crowding the galleys and dungeons, but for which he, *even Robespierre*, disdained to employ torture to extort confessions of patriotism, which this sanguinary usurper punished as treason. Whenever it shall happen that one or a few base usurpers shall have seized on a nation's civil and political rights, and that they shall have sold them to a neighbouring country, in the rankest and foulest corruption and treason: whenever it shall happen that to heal religious dissension, to promote universal philanthropy, true Christian charity, and national union; and to establish the imprescriptible right of being represented, which no people can forfeit, shall be punished by lawless or legalized murder,

trust me, the most drowsy conscience, stung by public exposure, will make every effort by bribery, by violence, by persecution, and even by bludgeon and robbery, to put down the *Press*. But regarding it as the great luminary which has dispelled the darkness in which mankind lay brutalized, in ignorance, superstition, and slavery, — regarding it as that bright constellation which, by its diffusion of light, is at this moment restoring the nations amongst whom it has made its appearance, to knowledge and freedom; whilst I can find one single plank of the scattered rights of my country to stand on, I will fix my eyes on the PRESS, as the polar-star which is to direct us to the haven of freedom. With these sentiments engraved on my heart; alive to the honest ambition of serving my country; regardless whether I am doomed to fall by the lingering torture of a solitary dungeon, or the blow of the assassin; if the freedom of the press is to be destroyed, I shall esteem it a proud destiny to be buried under its ruins. But if there be any men so base or so stupid as to imagine, that they can usurp or withhold your civil and political rights; that they can convert truth into sedition, or patriotism into treason, if they imagine that this is a period favourable for abridging the freedom of mankind, or establishing despotic power on the ruins of liberty, let them look round them, and they will find that amongst the old and inveterate despotisms in Europe some have been destroyed, and that the rest are on the brink of destruction. They may make martyrs, and Liberty's roots will be fer-

tilized by the blood of the murdered; but if their deeds and their blunders have not made reflection a horror, let them look back on the five years that are past, and they will see that they have been the most destructively rapid revolutions that ever existed; they will see that Great Britain and Ireland, from the portion of rights they enjoyed, which were the nations of Europe where revolution was least necessary, and where it might have been most easily saved, are now nearest the danger. But let them reflect, ere it is too late, and it is never too late to abandon a ruinous course, that if they could establish, without opposition, *lettres de cachette* in place of habeas corpus and trial by jury; if the gallies and bastiles of despotism could be erected in place of the prisons of law; if they could abolish every idea of representation, and establish chambers for registering their requisitions and edicts; if instead of the Press of the Nation, they could set up the Gazette of the Court; if they could abolish that great constitutional principle, that no man could be forced to his own crimination, and establish the torture to extort confession, they should recollect that, like France, instead of preventing a revolution, they would but create so many powerful causes to excite the people to make one; and whilst tyrannic despots talk so much of supporting the constitution they have done so much to destroy, let them remember that, if it owes much to obedience, it owes more to resistance; and that the feelings of a people must determine where crimes and sufferings shall end the one, and begin the other.

"ARTHUR O'CONNOR."

THE EXAMINATION OF ARTHUR O'CONNOR, BEFORE THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, AUGUST 9, 1798.

Committee.—Were you of the executive of the Irish Union?

O'Connor.—I was a member of the executive from the time I became a member of the Union.

Com.—When did the communication between the Union and France begin?

O'Connor.—You, I suppose, have the report I signed and delivered to the Irish Government, in conjunction with Mr. Emmet and Mr. Macneven?

[The Chancellor nodded assent; but none of the other members of the committee.]

O'Connor.—In that report you will find the whole of that important transaction detailed. You will there find that the first alliance that was formed between the Union and France was in the middle of 1796. You will see that before the executive entered into any alliance with France, or that it resolved on resistance to the tyranny of the Irish Government, a solemn meeting was held, when, after considering the uniform system of coercion and opposition which had been pursued from 1793 by the Irish Government against the Irish people; and finding that 1796 had opened with the sanguinary laws, called the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts, whereby the most sacred rights of the constitution were destroyed, the most gross violations of the laws by the magistrates were indemnified—that the expulsion of 4,000 unoffending inhabitants of the county of Armagh,

from their homes and properties, left no doubt that all protection was at an end, the executive were decidedly of opinion, that by the principles of the constitution, as established by the Revolution of 1688, they were justified in calling in foreign aid and in resisting a Government which had forfeited all claims to obedience.

Com.—You are under a mistake: the Insurrection and Indemnity Acts were not passed until the end of 1796.

O'Connor.—I am confident I cannot be mistaken for I know that these acts were what filled up the measure of that oppression which decided the executive to seek foreign aid; and I am confident it did not come to that determination until May, 1796; and I also recollect that I left this country in February, 1796; and before I left it, the attorney-general had moved these two bills; but if you can have any doubts, your journals will clear them up.

Com.—When did the military organization begin?

O'Connor.—Shortly after the executive had resolved on resistance to the Irish Government, and on an alliance with France in May, 1796.

Com.—Were there no communications with France before the middle of 1796?

O'Connor.—None, I can confidently affirm that, until the conduct of the Irish Government forced the executive to resist, which was, as I have stated, in the middle of 1796, no alliance, whatsoever, was formed between the Union and France.

Com.—Did the executive imagine the North would rise if the French landed?

O'Connor.—We had no doubt but the North was sensible of the tyranny of the Government, and that they would take the first opportunity to free their country.

Com.—When was the first communication with France after the Bantry Bay expedition?

O'Connor.—I was a close prisoner in the Tower from February, 1797, to August following it; in August I heard of the first communication after the Bantry Bay expedition.

Com.—What did the despatch contain?

O'Connor.—It stated that a considerable force of 15,000 or 20,000 men were embarked at the Texel, and that they would sail in a week.

Com.—What prevented their sailing?

O'Connor.—The wind continued directly contrary for several weeks after, and the changes which took place on the 4th of September probably had some effect on the expedition.

Com.—Was it mentioned in the despatch where the landing should take place?

O'Connor.—It was not; the directory do not communicate such important intelligence, except to those to whom it may be absolutely necessary.

Com.—Had you any intelligence of the invasion at Bantry Bay?

O'Connor.—There was a messenger who arrived in November, 1796; he said the French would arrive shortly, but did not say where.

Com.—Had you any other intelligence?

O'Connor.—We received a letter about the time of

this messenger's arrival (a French agent,) which stated that the expedition was postponed: this has never been accounted for.

Com.—Was there a person sent in spring, 1797, to France?

O'Connor.—During the time these messengers were sent off, I was a close prisoner.

Com.—Did you see Dr. Macneven on his return from France?

O'Connor.—I shall not answer anything about Dr. Macneven, or any other person.

Com.—Oh! he has been here.

O'Connor.—If so, there is the less occasion for you to ask me about him; I shall not answer any questions of any one.

Com.—Did you see any person who returned from France towards the end of 1797?

O'Connor.—I did.

Com.—What intelligence did he bring?

O'Connor.—When he left France, he was assured that assistance would be sent, though no time was mentioned; but so considerable a change had taken place in France on the 4th of September, 1797, and our messenger having left Paris before that period, and not arriving here till after, we did not know what measures the new arrangement might give rise to.

Com.—Have you heard that some conversation on Irish affairs had passed between General Vallence and some persons of this country?

O'Connor.—I cannot conceive that General Vallence could have anything to do with the business; he was an emigrant.

Com.—Was there any connexion between the Union and the British and Scotch Societies?

O'Connor.—The executive carefully avoided any.

Com.—Was there not some connexion between individuals?

O'Connor.—I cannot say what individuals may have done; the executive was careful to confine itself to the affairs of Ireland. As one of the executive, I can say, I never had the most distant with any British Society; nor did I ever interfere with the politics of England.

Com.—Do you know anything of a loan being negotiated for with France or Spain?

O'Connor.—Some of our agents were ordered to negotiate for half a million with either of these powers.

Com.—Was your place in the executive filled up when you left this in January, 1798?

O'Connor.—My place in the executive of Leinster was filled up.

Com.—Were you not proprietor of *The Press?*

O'Connor.—I was, until it was destroyed by the Irish Government.

Com.—Was it not for the purpose of promoting the Union that you set it up?

O'Connor.—The inculcating union amongst my countrymen was a principal object. I had also in view to expose the outrages and tyranny of the Irish Government; but it was not set up by the Union; it was my own individual undertaking; it was under my sole control; and it was set up by me on the broadest basis, for the support of the liberties of my country.

August 16*th*, 1798.

Com.—Explain the first formation of the allianc between the Irish Union and the French?

O'Connor.—If you have seen the report I signe and delivered, in conjunction with Emmet and Mac neven, it will not be necessary I should go very full into that important transaction; but if you have no seen it, I will explain it more fully.

Com.—We have not seen the report you allude to

O'Connor.—Sometime in 1795, or the beginning o 1796, a letter was received by the executive of th Union from France, from some individuals of th Union, who had fled from persecution; in which the mentioned, that they had made such a representatio of the state of Ireland, that they believed the Frenc would be induced to treat with the Union, to fre us from the tyranny under which we groaned.— This letter was not acted upon by the executiv at the time it was received, from their unwillingnes to have recourse to foreign aid, except in the las resort, and in the hope that the effects on the popu· lar mind from the tyrannical measures which Govern· ment had pursued, would induce them to abandor their measures of coercion, and to adopt measure congenial to the wishes of the people. But when the executive saw the year 1796 open with the In· surrection bill,—that 4000 unoffending inhabitant of the county Armagh had been driven from their homes, on account of their religious opinions, by a lawless banditti, who were not only not restrained by Government, but aided and instigated by its magis-

tracy, and that an act was passed to indemnify the most gross violation of the most sacred laws, by the agents and magistrates of Government. Roused by these fresh instances of tyranny, the executive of the Union held a most important meeting to consider the state of the country,—to determine on what measures these sanguinary, tyrannical proceedings of Government made it necessary for us to adopt. The views and conduct of those who exercised the powers of Government, were coolly and dispassionately discussed. The executive were convinced, and the same conviction was in every mind, that a system of monopoly and usurpation had absorbed every part of the constitution which belonged to the people; that those who exercised the assumed right of representing the people of Ireland, were self-constituted; that they acted with the sole view of advancing their individual interests; and that what was called the emancipation of the Irish legislature in 1782, was nothing more than freeing a set of self-constituted individuals from the absolute control of the British legislature, that they might be at liberty to sell themselves to the corrupt control of the British ministry. The executive considered which had the Constitution on their side, they who contended that the House of Commons should be filled with the real representatives of the people of Ireland, or those individuals who contended that it should be filled with themselves. This was the great point at issue, by which the past, the present, and future conduct of the Irish Government was to be judged, without even appealing to the imprescriptible right of

people, to put down oppression. Standing on the ground of the constitution, the executive looked back upon the sanguinary, tyrannical measures, which had been invariably pursued by the Irish Government and legislature, under the control of the British ministry from 1793; they were convinced, that if the most faint connexion existed between those who filled the places of the people's representatives, and the people, no Government or legislature durst commit such unexampled outrages as those which had been perpetrated and indemnified in Ireland; that no lawful or just Government could, by any possibility, be driven to burn houses, or to torture the persons of the people to extort obedience. The executive looked back to the melancholy history of Ireland, they saw how dreadfully it had been torn and wasted by religious dissensions. The first object of the executive was to destroy religious discord, and promote brotherly love and affection among all the people of Ireland, be their religious belief what it may. The next object of the Union was to promote a reform of the Government, and to regain those rights which were the people's birthright by the constitution; yet the oath which bound the people to these first duties of Christianity, morality, and the constitution, was punished with death by the Insurrection Act, which, by some other of its clauses, broke down every barrier of liberty; that not only every effort was made to oppose us in these our exertions to destroy religious discord, but that no means were left untried to organize a sect, founded upon the diabolical oath of extermination,

whose institution was avowedly for the purpose of perpetuating religious discord and rancour. This was not all—the expulsion of 4000 Irish citizens, with every aggravation of cruelty and horror, which was followed by the Indemnity Act, left no doubt on the mind of the executive, that all the excesses and outrages were either openly or secretly the acts of the Government and legislature of Ireland. Struck with the enormity of these acts and outrages, the executive looked back to the history of James II., and after comparing his conduct with the conduct of the Irish Government, they were decidedly of opinion, that the conduct of the Irish Government had been beyond comparison, more tyrannical and cruel. They were of opinion, that if the people were justified in calling in foreign aid to rescue their liberties and constitution from James's government, it was infinitely more justifiable in us to call in foreign aid. The executive were of opinion, that the Irish Government had not only forfeited all title to obedience from the people, but that we were called on to resist its most unparalleled usurpation and tyranny. That as the people of Ireland had been disarmed, contrary to the right of every free people; and as the tyranny under which the Government was upheld, was supported by the men and the money of one foreign nation, we stood peculiarly necessitated to seek the aid of some other foreign power. Actuated by this reasoning, the executive sent to seek an alliance with France in May, 1796, which was actually formed in the August following, the first

which was formed between the Irish Union and France.

Com.—Did you not go to Hamburgh, and afterwards to Switzerland, in the summer of 1796, in company with another person?

O'Connor.—This question points at Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and as it is notorious, he did accompany me to Switzerland in 1796, and although my friend is no more, I will not answer any thing, which could in the most distant manner lead to the disclosure of any act of his; besides, I am not bound by the stipulation I have entered into, for saving the lives of those you have in your power, to disclose any act of my life prior to my becoming a member of the Union; but so little am I inclined to withhold the account of any part of our conduct, and so fully am I convinced of the rectitude of what we have done, that if you will be satisfied with the substance of the transactions of the Union, without leading to names or persons, I will give it.

Com.—Well, we will be content with the substance, without any allusion to names or persons.

O'Connor.—In May, 1796, after the important meeting of the executive I have just mentioned was held, they sent to France to adjust the terms of the alliance, to plan the manner the succours should be seconded, so as to insure success. The most important part of the terms was, that France was to assist Ireland in freeing herself from the tyranny of those who exercised the government of Ireland, and that Ireland should be free to frame whatever constitution

she might think fit to adopt. The same expedition which was afterwards equipped, and sent to Ireland under Hoche, was agreed on, and every thing was settled which could ensure success on its landing. At the same time it was proposed to the person who formed this first alliance between France and the Union, that a body should be sent against England to cause a diversion, to retaliate for the Quiberon expedition. To dissuade the French from the invasion of England, this Irish negotiator used every argument in his power. He said, from his knowledge of England, the best men of that country would be most hostile to any interference of the French in the government of their country, on the same just principles that they condemned the interference of England in the government of France.—That the situation of Ireland and England were very different; that in Ireland the people were most solicitous for the aid of France, to rescue them from foreign and domestic tyranny; but that the majority of the people of England would be averse to their interference; that many of the people of England were beginning to see and feel the ruin the ministers had brought on the nation, by engaging in the war; but that if they invaded their country it would bury all consideration of the injustice of the war, under the immediate consideration of self-defence; that it would prove the greatest support to an unpopular ministry, by giving them an unlimited power over the remaining wealth of England, in any way they might wish to take it, while a guinea could be extorted. These, together with other arguments, were thought conclusive by

those to whom they were addressed, and the invasion of England in 1796 was abandoned.

Com.—Was not M. Barthelemy privy to these transactions?

O'Connor.—I will not answer any question where the name of any person is mentioned.

Com.—But he is a foreigner.

O'Connor.—I care not; the name of a foreigner or a countryman shall be equally inviolable with me.

Com.—Was it not at Paris this first alliance was formed?

O'Connor.—It was not; if it was you would have no need to ask me the question.

Com.—Was it Lisle?

O'Connor.—It was not.

Com.—Were you of the executive?

O'Connor.—I was of the executive from the time I became a member of the Union in 1796 until I was obliged to fly my country abruptly in January, 1798, to avoid being taken off by a foul plot which was laid by some of the under agents of the Irish government, but which my respect for the safety of those who gave me the intimation of it obliges me to keep secret.

Com.—Inform us of the progress and extent of the organization.

O'Connor.—When I was imprisoned in February, 1797, the organization had made considerable progress in Ulster, and things were in train to extend it to the other three provinces. On my liberation in the August following, I found the means we employed before my imprisonment had been successful in extending the organization, particularly

in Leinster; but that it had been thrown into confusion by the burnings, hangings, and torturings, which had been extended from Ulster to the other parts of the country.—But to such a degree had the minds of the people been exasperated by the cruelties of the Government, the disposition towards the Union was so strong in the three provinces, that in four months after my liberation, I was enabled, as one of the northern executive (there being no executive for Leinster during this period), to organize 70,000 men in Leinster only, while the number of those who took the test of the Union was nearly equal to the population of the three provinces; to such a degree did the Irish Government raise the resentment of the people against it, by the cruelties it practised to support its powers, and to keep down the national spirit for liberty.

Com.—Was not your object in forming the organization to effect a revolution?

O'Connor.—If our mere object had been to effect a revolution, the British ministry and the Irish Government were effecting one more violently and rapidly than we wished for; we clearly perceived that the measures they adopted to prevent revolution were the most effectual that could be devised to ensure it. When we viewed the state of the British empire we were convinced we need not take much pains merely to make revolution. If that was our sole object, we knew that the Irish Government of itself could not exist one month; we saw that it was the men and the money of England which upheld the Irish Govern-

ment; we therefore looked to the state of Great Britain, and considered the state of its actual government, and we were of opinion that the measures which the present ministry had pursued were the most rapidly ruinous which could be adopted. We examined her state before the war; we saw that as before the enormous expenditure which the war occasioned, the minister could not extort more than sixteen millions annual revenue, it would be impossible, after hundreds of millions of the national capital had been squandered, that thirty millions annual revenue could, by any physical possibility, be extorted, which was the least her peace establishment could amount to. But that even supposing thirty millions annual revenue could be raised in Great Britain, experience convinced us that liberty must be destroyed by such additional means of corruption being thrown into the hands of the executive; and we were convinced that a nation which had lost her liberty could not long support such monstrous burdens, on the principal that capital, like fluid, would find its level. We were of opinion, that as the profits of capital would be higher in France than in England, the vast exhaustion of capital which had taken place in France would be replenished on a peace, by the flowing in of a considerable portion of British capital, and that this disposition on the part of the British capitalist to transport his wealth, would be farther increased by a desire to avoid the enormous taxes to which his industry and his profits would be exposed. These considerations, amongst many others, left no doubt on our minds that the powers of England,

by which alone the tyranny and usurpation of the Irish Government and legislature were supported, must be very shortly destroyed.

Com.—If you did not organize for the purpose of effecting a revolution, what other object had you in view?

O'Connor.—We saw with sorrow the cruelties practised by the Irish Government had raised a dreadful spirit of revenge in the hearts of the people; we saw with horror that to answer their immediate views the Irish Government had renewed the old religious feuds; we were most anxious to have such authority as the organization afforded, constituted to prevent the dreadful transports of popular fury. We hoped that by having committees for each barony, county committees, and provincial committees, by holding out the benefits of the revolution to those who supported it, and by withholding its benefits from those who should disgrace it by popular excesses, we should have been able to restrain the people. But those who had monopolized the whole political power of the constitution finding that they stood in need of some part of the population, and that from their monopoly being so directly opposite to the interest of all classes of the Irish nation, they could not hope for the support of any (be their religion what it may) on the score of politics, except those in the pay of Government; finding how necessary it was to have some part of the population on their side, they had recourse to the old religious feuds, and set on foot an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the

banners of religion, to fight for political usurpation they abhorred. No doubt by these means you have gained a temporary aid, but by destroying the organization of the Union, and exasperating the great body of the people, you will one day pay dearly for the aid you have derived from this temporary shift.

Com.—Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, nor their oath of extermination.

O'Connor.—You, my Lord, (Castlereagh,) from the station you fill, must be sensible that the executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information, and you must know from the secret nature, and the zeal of the Union, that its executive must have the most minute information of every act of the Irish Government. As one of the executive, it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavouring to extend the Orange system, and that the Orange oath of extermination was administered; when these facts are coupled not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards all the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators.

Com.—Were not some of the Union very monarchical?

O'Connor.—My first political acquaintance with the body of my Catholic countrymen, to whom I suppose you allude, was in 1791, whilst I was high sheriff of the county of Cork, when I defended the

Catholics from an attack which was made upon them by the monopolists of our representation in that part of Ireland. At that time the Catholics of Ireland were just beginning to feel the influence of the French revolution, and to be sensible of the degrading state to which centuries of oppression had reduced them; they were, however, strongly addicted to monarchy, and made their first advances in pursuit of freedom in a very humble manner; but the contempt and insult with which their first petition was scouted from the House of Commons, roused them to a sense of their rights as men.—In 1792, they again petitioned, but in terms of boldness proportioned to the insult with which their former petition had been treated. They were joined by the Presbyterians, and the contemptuous manner with which both petitions were refused, created a union of sentiment, whereby the Catholics were led to examine what title to power those had who thus insultingly denied the joint desires of the great mass of the Irish nation. They passed from any explanation with the Irish Parliament, and negotiated with the British ministry, whom they found controlled every act of the Government and legislature of Ireland. While the Catholics were succeeding with the British ministry in England, the borough-mongers of Ireland were most active amongst the grand juries in the summer of 1792, in pledging lives and fortunes, never to grant the claims of their Catholic countrymen. When the Parliament met in 1793, the mandate came from the British ministry to accede to a partial emancipation of the Catholics. This was not

all: in the session the House of Commons resolved that the national representation stood in need of reform; they raised the hopes of the Irish but to blast them afterwards. This most impolitic conduct brought the Irish Government into the utmost disrepute, and was followed by a declaration on the part of the Catholics in 1793, to stand or fall with their countrymen on the great question of obtaining a national representation. From this time the Irish Government seemed to abandon all idea of conciliating the Catholics, and to think only of punishing them for what they thought ingratitude. In pursuance of this plan, all idea of Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform was scouted; British troops were poured into Ireland, and prosecutions commenced against some of the Catholic and Presbyterian leaders in 1794, on such evidence as clearly demonstrated they were undertaken from vindictive motives of resentment. These measures were calculated to eradicate the inveterate predilection for monarchy from the hearts of the Irish Catholics. In 1795, the British ministry appeared sensible of the consequences which had resulted from the measures which had been pursued hitherto in Ireland; and an attempt was entered on to regain the Catholics, by sending Lord Fitzwilliam, with powers to choose his own councils. The hopes of the national mind were raised, particularly of the Catholics; but the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, the abandonment of the projected political changes, the renewal of the reign of terror and coercion, totally alienated the minds of the Catholics from their confirmed propensity to

monarchy. No doubt the French Revolution had a great and powerful effect in exciting the Catholics of Ireland to attain their long lost liberty; but it was the measures of the British ministry, and the Irish Government, which hurried them into their present ardent love of representative democracy, * * * which was confirmed in the minds of the very lowest orders, by being familiarized with the organization of the Union, and by observing its good effects.

Com.—Why, what opinion have the lower classes of the people of political subjects?

O'Connor.—The lowest societies of the Union conversed freely of the corruption, the usurpation, and the venality of Parliament. While I was a member of the House of Commons, you know the frequent conversation among the members was—How much has such an one given for his seat?—From whom did he purchase?—Has not such an one sold his borough?—Has not such a lord bought?—Has not such a peer so many members in this House?—Was not such a member with the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, to insist on some greater place or pension?—Did not the secretary refuse it?—Has he not gone into the Opposition? These, and such like facts, are as well known to the lowest classes of the Union, as to yourselves.

A Member of the Com.—Mr. O'Connor is perfectly right; I have heard the lowest classes of the people talk in that style.

O'Connor.—The people are conscious you are self-constituted, and not their delegates; men who have

no other object in view, but to advance their own individual interests.

A Member of the Com.—That we are a parcel of placemen and pensioners?

O'Connor.—Exactly so.

Com.—What is the object the people have in view at present?

O'Connor.—I believe they have laid by for the instant all idea of speculative politics.

Com.—Was there not a disunion in the executive?

O'Connor.—From the time I was elected one of the executive, I never experienced any disagreement.

Com.—Were there not men who could influence the people to disobey the orders of the executive?

O'Connor.—On the contrary, they were always obeyed with the most zealous alacrity. No doubt the secret manner in which we were obliged to conduct the business of the Union, gave great scope to intrigue; yet I found that wherever religious prejudices were placed in the way of political liberty, the people invariably disregarded the former, and adhered to the latter.

Com.—Did not the executive form a plan of a constitution for Ireland's future government?

O'Connor.—The executive never thought itself invested with power to meddle with the future constitution of Ireland, that could have been the work only of those whom the people of Ireland might elect for that express purpose. We were elected solely to devise means of wresting power out of the hands of men, who had violated every part of the constitution, and liberties of Ireland,

and outraged every feeling and right of man, by the means they employed to retain their usurpation.

Com.—What do you think would tranquillize the people of Ireland, and induce them to give up their arms?

O'Connor.—That is a question which would require the best head to answer, and the best heart to execute; I am not so ignorant of human nature as to suppose that those men who have so long engrossed the enormous emoluments of ill, and unjustly acquired power, will ever restore them to the people, however manifest it must appear to an unprejudiced mind, that the most dreadful ruin awaits the present fruitless effort which is made to retain them.

Com.—But what, in your opinion, would tranquillize Ireland, and induce the people to give up their arms?

O'Connor.—Under the present system of usurpation and corruption, every source by which the Irish nation could acquire wealth, is betrayed to Great Britain, and even the wretched pittance her industry gathers is thrown a prey to monopolists of her political power, who have sold her dearest rights. By this double plunder, the people of Ireland are destitute, not only of every convenience and comfort of life, but of the bare necessaries to support their existence. If you would tranquillize a people, you must cease to oppress them—you must cease to betray them; make them happy, and you will make them tranquil. The great and main source, from which the wants of a people are supplied, is agriculture; yet near two millions' worth of the rude produce of the agriculture

of Ireland is annually exported to pay non-resident landlords; for this there is no return; it is all loss to the Irish nation, and is, of itself, a sufficient drain to impoverish a greater nation for extent than Ireland. The commerce of Ireland has to cope with the most commercial nation on earth in its very vicinage, under the disadvantage of a general admission of every species of manufactured and foreign produce on one side, and of as unlimited rejection on the other, with scarcely one exception. When the agricultural produce of a people—when their home and foreign markets are sold, the consequence must be, that they must experience a great dearth of national capital; hence the best machinery, and the most extensive division of labour, by both which, labour is so wonderfully abridged, the low profits which result from abundant capital, and the being able to give long credits, are all lost to a nation bereft of every means to acquire wealth. By this cruel injustice, England can supply the people of Ireland with their manufactures cheaper than the Irish can manufacture their own materials, whereby our manufactures (the other great source for acquiring national capital) shares the same fate with our agriculture, and the abused laws by which the fisheries of Ireland have been destroyed, complete the catastrophe of the ruin of Irish industry, in the several ways of acquiring wealth with which God and nature have endowed her. But this is not all; the small portion of wealth which the Irish nation acquires, under these mutilated means, is subject to a thousand of the most gross extortions.

A most monstrous establishment, (and that for one-tenth of the nation only,) under the name of supporting the ministers of religion, but really for the purpose of the most flagrant corruption; a vast military establishment, which those who exercise the powers of government are obliged to keep up, as the sole means by which they can maintain the actual usurpation of all popular and constitutional rights; sinecure places; pensions; and the various ways which are hourly devised for draining the people. These, if you would tranquillize the people, you must abolish; you must restore to them those means for acquiring wealth which God and nature gave them; you must not subject the wealth they do acquire to any exaction which is not absolutely necessary for the support of a government capable of affording them protection. The result of the pillage which the Irish nation at present undergoes is, that it diminishes national capital, that wages are low, and employment so doubtful, the greatest causes of national misery. The next great evil which results from this great dearth of national capital is, that land has become the only material the people have to work on, which cannot be exported; every one is forced to hire it, as his only means of employment, and the competition has made the rents of lands much higher than they otherwise would be, whilst the tithes (the most impolitic of imposts) are an endless source of vexation and litigation between the people and the ministers of religion. If you would correct all these evils, restore to the Irish nation its just rights; then wealth must flow in from every quarter; thousands of means

of exercising industry will present themselves, wage will be liberal, rents will be moderate, and it will b as impossible to disturb the public mind, when th reign of justice shall be established, as it will be t tranquillize it, as long as the actual system of usurpa tion, plunder, and tyranny, shall be continued. I is oppression which has armed the people of Ireland by justice only you can disarm them. A just govern ment, which emanates from the people, and whicl exists but for the people's protection and happiness need never dread their arms, or desire to see then disarmed. As long as you are anxious to disarm th people, so long you have no reason to expect the should be tranquil.

Com.—You have made politics and political eco nomy your study: what political changes do yo think would tranquillize Ireland?

O'Connor.—Restore the vital principle of the con stitution, which you have destroyed, by restoring t the people the choice of representatives, who shal control the executive; by frugal grants of the publi money, and by exacting a rigid account of its ex penditure. Let the people have representatives the can call friends, men in whom they can place confi dence, men they have really chosen, men chosen fo such a time, that if they should attempt to betra them, they may speedily have an opportunity of dis carding. Give us such a House of Commons, and will answer for the tranquillity of my country. Plac but the public purse in the hands of such representa tives, and I will answer for it, the people of Irelan will not have to complain of the profligacy, th

tyranny, or usurpation of government or legislators. How such a House of Commons could be chosen (if it was not the interest of those who monopolise the national representation to oppose it) would not be a difficult task to devise.

Com.—Was not the Union to destroy the constitution?

O'Connor.—We could not have an intention of destroying a constitution, of which we did not believe there was one particle in existence. A House of Commons, so far chosen by the people, and so far independent of the Crown as to control it, by its sole exercise of power over the public purse, was the vital principle of the constitution; it was by taking the demands from time to time, to this power over the public purse, that those rights, one after another, have been gained, which rights constitute the constitution. The instant such a House of Commons ceased to exist, and that it was supplanted by a House of Commons which represents itself, from that instant the vital principle which created the constitution, and which alone could preserve it from bankruptcy and ruin, was at an end. It was not to destroy this vital principle of the constitution, it was to put down a Parliament of self-constituted men, who first destroyed every vestige of the constitution, and then committed every outrage and cruelty to support their usurpation.

Com.—Why, did you not intend to set up a republic?

O'Connor.—I have already told you we did not conceive that any power was vested in us to set up

any constitution. We were chosen solely for t purpose of putting down your usurpation of t constitution and liberty of the Irish nation. I kn not whether those who would have been chosen the people of Ireland for the purpose of forming constitution, would have adopted the constituti you have destroyed. I know not whether it is p sible to build up such a constitution, now it has be destroyed. I know not whether they would ha formed a constitution purely representative, from conviction that in an elective government, the peop whether by their delegates, or in their proper perso exercise a control over the government, which hold to be a republic. As such, the constitution (long as a House of Commons made any part of i was a republic; but whether the future governme of Ireland may be less, equally, or more democratic than the constitution, those who shall be chosen frame it can alone determine.

Com.—Was there any thing more implied in the oa of the Union, than what was set forth in the test?

O'Connor.—Certainly not; for all we wanted w to create a House of Commons which should repr sent the whole people of Ireland; and for that pu pose we strove to dispel all religious distinctio from our political Union, and after we had destroy your usurpation of our national representation, ar that we had set up a real representation of the who people of Ireland, we were convinced there was r evil which such a House of Commons could n reach; we were satisfied, that to set up such a Hou of Commons was our right, and that whether t

other parts of the constitution could stand or not, after the House of Commons was restored to the constitution, yet we were assured that our liberties would exist, but that without a constitutional House of Commons, the Government must of its own nature speedily end in bankruptcy and ruin, from the vast expence of the corruption and force which it required to uphold it.

Com.—How was the late rising occasioned?

O'Connor.—I have already told you how; from the beginning of the French Revolution the measures pursued by the British ministry and the Irish Government have worked up the minds of the people of Ireland to their present highly irritated state—at one time raising their hopes—at another time blasting those hopes; at one time promising emancipation and reform—and at another time resisting both with fire and sword, burning houses, hanging, lashing, and torturing; means unjustifiable to support any system, and which a just government could not for one instant stand in need of. These no human patience could endure, and yet (from a conviction that they were practised to goad the people to a premature attempt to put down their oppressors) as long as I could remain, I used every means in my power to endure a little longer; but when, to avoid being dispatched, I was forced to fly, those into whose hands the executive power of the Union was vested, yielded to the pressing solicitations of the people of the most oppressed parts, who were desirous to risk their lives, in order to rid themselves of the cruelties they hourly experienced.

Com.—Are there not committees forming at t present moment?

O'Connor.—I know not what committees are for ing; but I am well assured the people of Ireland w never abandon the Union, and that its principles w never be eradicated from their hearts until we obta our object.

Com.—How can deputations be sent to France?

O'Connor.—By as many ways as there are hum devices.

Com.—Could you get one to go to France now?

O'Connor.—Thousands, if necessary.

Com.—How is that possible?

O'Connor.—Unless you destroy every vestige commerce, we can find no difficulty in sending France. Not a ship that sails, that contains United Irishman, that does not contain a faithf messenger.

Com.—Do you know anything of the future pla of the French?

O'Connor.—I do not; but I firmly believe they w never abandon their engagements with us.

Com.—Were there many men of property in t Union?

O'Connor.—Men of property usually consult the own personal interests, which is a great check to a generous or disinterested exertion of patriotism; su men seldom run great hazards in the public caus If we had been content with a hollow support, might have had abundance of them; however, the were many of considerable property, who upon pri ciple were of the Union.

Com.—Would you not have destroyed the Protestant religion, and the Protestant establishment?

O'Connor.—The destruction of religion is one thing, the destruction of establishments another; the great and just principle upon which the Union is formed is the most perfect freedom for all religions alike. We are of opinion that the present monstrous Protestant establishment in Ireland is a grievous burthen on Presbyterians, Catholics, Quakers, Protestants, in short, on all the people of Ireland; highly unjust to those who are not of the Protestant religion, and highly injurious to the Protestant religion itself; for we are convinced it would work a very desirable change in the Protestant clergy of Ireland, if they were made to owe their maintenance to a faithful discharge of their functions, instead of obtaining it by a base and disgraceful cringing to patrons; and that if there was no other objection to tithes than their being an endless source of discord between a Christian ministry and the people, they ought to be abolished.

Com.—How did you mean to pay the half million you wished to borrow from France or Spain?

O'Connor.—When the present Government can borrow millions on millions, we could have had no difficulty in paying half a million. If millions can be had out of Irish industry, by a Government which has sacrificed every means of acquiring wealth, we have no doubt a Government that restores those rights could easily find means to discharge any debts we should contract in the contest.

Com.—Do you imagine Ireland could exist as an independent nation?

O'Connor.—I have not a doubt of it. We have five millions of a brave hardy people, and if we had the government in our hands but for a short time, to organize and to arm them, we could defy the whole world. Once possessed of a country, they would fight for it; and it is one of the strongest countries in Europe by nature. It must have a tactic peculiar to itself, and the people of Ireland must execute that tactic.

Com.—Could not Great Britain destroy your trade with her navy?

O'Connor.—I doubt if the rest of the world would allow her to shut them out from so good a market. If we were once free, I doubt she could effect it. I doubt she could have power, after the separation of Ireland, to act so injurious a part; but as Ireland has no foreign dominion, and, I trust, never will, if her whole foreign trade was carried on by foreign ships, it is of little matter. The old notion, that a carrying trade is the most beneficial, is nonsense; the home trade should be the great national object, and that would be most flourishing. There is no convenience nor a comfort of life that we could not find in our island; and the temporary inconvenience and loss we should feel by being obliged, for a long time, to supply ourselves, would be compensated, in a great measure, by the number of hidden resources we should discover.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM SAMPSON.

CHAPTER XVI.

A REPRINT of "The Memoirs of Sampson," written by himself, appeared in this country in 1832. These Memoirs were originally written in a series of letters addressed to a friend. The persecution he had undergone, both in his own country and in that to which he had been suffered to go into exile, in the latter part of 1798, was the chief subject of those letters. Deeply interesting as they were, they afforded very little information of his early life, his character, his connexions, his qualities, his pursuits, his conduct in private life; his letters left us in ignorance of his personal history.

One leading object which the author had in view in presenting the preceding Memoirs to the public, was to make the private life, the personal qualities of each individual, subjects for consideration, in estimating his political principles and forming an opinion of his public conduct.

It has been asked, what is the use of giving a biographical character to a work of this kind, of

entering into minute details respecting the standing in society, the mental peculiarities, the moral principles of the actors in the struggle? The answer is short and simple,—its utility consists in enabling the public to appreciate the character, and to weigh the claims of men who demand their confidence, and who seek to be intrusted with the conduct of a cause, the issue of which may involve the lives and liberties of their countrymen. By these Memoirs therefore, we trust some judgment may be formed with respect to the capacity and integrity of the men who undertook to lead and direct the public mind at a crisis of great difficulty, when the most awful question on which men can be called on to decide was left to their determination.

An application was made by the author to the friends of the late William Sampson for the requisite materials for a memoir of that gentleman. As in many other instances of a similar kind, the fidelity of a daughter to the memory of her father was conspicuous on this occasion, and to it we have partly to attribute the result of that application, which, in the following admirably drawn account of the career of Sampson, both in his own country and his adopted one, is now communicated to the public, without any other addition, on our part, than that of a few notes appended to the Memoir.

"Few victims of the fanaticism of fear which seized the Protestant ascendency in Ireland had less reason to lament the unjust exile to which he was doomed than William Sampson. After a tedious period of uncertainty, protracted by the cowardly malice of subordinate officials, whose silence respecting the delinquencies of their employers was purchased by connivance in their petty schemes of avarice and plunder, he was permitted to settle in New York, and he attained, in a short time, a higher rank at the American bar than he would probably have reached in Ireland. After a long and useful career he died in a green old age, universally respected in his adopted country—not forgotten by the most venerated portion of the land from which he had been unjustly driven. With the single exception of the death of his eldest son, a youth of extraordinary promise, and to whom might justly be applied the pathetic lament of Ossian over one of his young heroes, "he died before he came to his fame," Mr. Sampson was happy beyond most men, in his family; his wife shared his high, unconquerable spirit,—she would rather have seen him wear the chains of an incarcerated patriot, than the ribband which rewarded a political renegade; she shared his sufferings, she adorned his prosperity; like him, she never murmured against exile, and yet never abandoned the love of her native land.

Many Englishmen who visited New York about twenty years ago were completely perplexed when they met any of the Irish exiles in general society, they could not comprehend how it happened that

such men should have been stigmatized as rebels. Not a few, who had been deeply imbued by the prejudices which the English Government sedulously inculcated, became convinced that they must have been deceived, and after patient inquiry, came to the conclusion that the Irish insurrection of 1798 was caused by the treason of the ministry against the country, not by the disaffection of the United Irishmen to the Government. In this conclusion they had been anticipated by the poet Campbell, whose exquisite poem "The Exile of Erin" was the result of his intercourse with some of the Irish fugitives in Hamburgh. No one of these expatriated gentlemen was more completely unlike what the deluded English had been taught to expect in an Irish rebel than William Sampson; his mild countenance seemed incapable of expressing any angry passion; his sparkling eye and wreathed lip were expressive of wit and humour; thought and study had alone graven the lines which marked his ample forehead; his manners were simple and gentle to the extreme of mildness; his conversation usually turned on points of literature and science, which he discussed with rather more brilliancy than depth, drawing such varieties of illustration from his well-stored mind, that he seemed to speak pictures. In no country under heaven, save unfortunate Ireland, and in Ireland itself only at such a period as the close of the last century, could the perverted ingenuity of malice have devised a pretext for inserting Mr. Sampson's name in the lists of proscription.

To explain how Mr. Sampson became a traitor, it

is necessary to understand the meaning of the word treason in Ireland. In England we all know that treason means "conspiring and intending the death of the king," &c.; but in Ireland it meant, and is by a party still understood as, "conspiring and intending the overthrow of the English interest and the Protestant ascendency." Hence Charles II. confirmed the forfeitures of the loyal Irish lords, who had taken up arms to support his own cause against the usurpations of Cromwell; because Cromwell, though a regicide in England, was the representative of the English interest in Ireland. Hence James II., while the Irish were spending their best blood to maintain his rights, deliberately professed sympathy only for the English, who hurled him from his throne. And hence in the great confiscation which followed the revolution, the Irish parliament enumerated as overt acts of treason, matters which had occurred on the very day that William III. landed in Torbay, when he was so far from being either *de jure* or *de facto* king of England, that no one in Ireland, and very few in England, knew that he entertained any design of claiming the crown. A curious illustration of the notions of treason entertained by the Protestant ascendency of Ireland occurred in a corporate borough of Munster, about twenty years ago. A subscription was raised to purchase fuel and clothing for the poor, during a very severe winter. Of course, the distribution of the funds was intrusted to a person of the ascendency; for that body then claimed a vested right of inheritance in every office, from that of Lord Chancellor down to parish-clerk. Complaints of

malversation were spread abroad; a public meeting was summoned, at which the mayor of the town proposed a course of action that seemed likely to have the effect of screening the delinquent. An independent gentleman opposed the proposition. To his surprise, and to the great amusement of all the *young* persons present, he was assailed with a cry of "Treason, treason," from a reverend doctor of laws, who sat on the committee. An explanation was asked. The reverend doctor declared that it was treason to resist the king's authority; and, therefore, it must be treason to resist the mayor, who was the representative of majesty. A shout of laughter followed this brilliant definition of treason; but the doctor and some of his aged supporters assured the meeting that they remembered the time when such a decision would have been received with the reverence due to the apophthegms of Lord Coke and Lord Bacon.

An Irish traitor, in the times of which we write, meant nothing more than a person opposed to the domination of a corrupt and bigoted faction, which had taken to itself the name of the Protestant ascendency, although it was to a greater or less extent repudiated by every enlightened Protestant in the country. That faction, however, was strenuously supported by the people of England; because they were persuaded, that through its means alone, the dependence and subserviency of Ireland could be maintained. Even so late as 1807, the Rev. Sydney Smith declared, with equal severity and truth, "the moment the very name of Ireland is mentioned, the English seem to bid adieu to common feeling, com-

mon prudence, and common sense; and to act with the barbarity of tyrants, and the fatuity of idiots."

Their pecuniary interests taught the faction of the ascendency to maintain and propagate the delusion, that through them only could the connexion between England and Ireland take place; they were so far justified as to prove, that except by such an unpatriotic party, a connexion of obvious inferiority could not be perpetuated. There is an immense difference, if people could be brought to see it, between a connexion or union of inequality, based on maintaining monopolies for one country at the expense of misery and degradation in the other—and a connexion or union of equality, in which both countries should enjoy the same civil rights, the same religious privileges, and the same commercial advantages. A connexion of equality between Ireland and England did not exist in the days of Mr. Sampson; indeed, a union of equality has not been established up to the present hour. Those who reprobate the United Irishmen of the last century, and the Repealers of the present day, as enemies to the connexion between England and Ireland, should first inquire whether conditions have not been annexed to that connexion which render it unjust, onerous, and unpopular, and should examine whether those who perpetuate such conditions are not the real enemies to connexion and union. It is a monstrous absurdity to tell the Irish that they are "aliens in language, religion, and blood," and must be treated as such, and in the same breath to inform them that they are brethren and West Britons. Such an inconsistency is worse than

palpable nonsense, because, every time the principle is acted upon, it necessarily involves more or less of injustice and iniquity. If the Irish are aliens, they have a clear right to separate existence; and if they are brethren, they have as obvious a right to equality of constitutional freedom. The United Irishmen were not enemies to the *fact* of a connexion between England and Ireland; but they were, and they ought to have been, enemies to the kind of connexion existing in their day—a system which may be briefly described as one in which the oligarchy of a few griping borough-mongers tyrannized over the Protestant population, and, by way of recompense, encouraged the Protestants to gratify the worst passions of human nature, by triumphing over the Catholics.

Let us not be accused of libelling the Protestants of Ireland; every ascendency, wherever and however established, must, of necessity, exhibit the same course of evil action, whether the distinction of class be founded on creed, race, or colour. The Turks and the Greeks, the Normans and the Saxons, the Franks and the Gauls, the Moors and the Goths, the whites and the blacks of the United States of America,—are, or were, ascendencies of essentially the same nature as that which existed amongst the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland; they all exhibited equally strong proof that in such a state of things the demoralization of the dominant class is equally extensive with the degradation of the oppressed; they have shown that unjust superiority is always attended by that feeling of insecurity which generates savage cruelty and barbarous contempt for the restraints of

Divine and human law; and they all point to a period when the ascendency must sink under the weight of its own iniquities, unless its fall be averted by timely concessions. Ever since the day that the Egyptian Pharaoh established an ascendency over the Hebrews, a law of nature has begun to ensure the final deliverance of the servile class—"The more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew." The masters do not keep up their numbers; the serfs increase with a rapidity which it is impossible to check. In spite of penal laws, and bribes, and all species of honourable and dishonourable legislative contrivances, the Catholics of Ireland have increased in a far more rapid ratio than the Protestants; and had these laws continued, the latter must have been reduced to a minority so inconsiderable, that the reins of government must have fallen out of their hands, from sheer inability to retain them any longer. But though this system was iniquitous in its principle, destructive in its operations, and most ruinous to the very party it was designed to serve, yet all history and all experience show us that men will cling to the banner of ascendency, so long as any of its rags can be held together; and even when they fall to pieces from their own rottenness, multitudes of bigots and blockheads will be found offering an idolatrous veneration to the naked staff.

Mr. Sampson was by birth a member of the Protestant ascendency; he was born in Londonderry, January 17th, 1764; his father was a clergyman of that city, and was descended from one of those settlers to whom Elizabeth granted Irish lands, with

little regard to the titles of the rightful possessors. On the mother's side, he was connected with Mr. Dobbs Spaight, one of the original framers of the constitution of the United States in 1776,—with the eccentric counsellor Dobbs, who believed that a proud destiny of future glory is predicted to Ireland in the Apocalypse, and opposed the Union as inconsistent with St. John's Revelation,—and with Colonel Sharman, one of the most distinguished leaders among the Irish volunteers. At the age of about four years, Mr. Sampson was taken under the charge of his father's aunt, an eccentric maiden lady, who seems to have adopted the Spartan system of education, at least in physical development. During his childhood, he was distinguished for his superiority in manly exercises, and particularly for his skill and courage in boating, an amusement to which he continued partial during his entire life. It is not necessary to glean the few anecdotes which have been preserved of his youth. At the age of 18, we find that he held a commission in a corps of volunteers, and probably about the same time entered the Dublin University. Having some independent fortune, he married a lady, named Miss Clarke, in 1790, after which he removed to London, in order to complete his terms in Lincoln's Inn.

Soon after his being called to the Irish bar, Mr. Sampson had the misfortune to lose his eldest child; but though deeply grieved, the dark clouds which were beginning to collect around his country's horizon diverted his attention from private sorrows. Belfast was his regular place of abode, but he resided at

lodgings in Dublin during the terms; and in both places he cultivated the acquaintance of those who were anxious to complete the great work of national reform which the volunteers had left imperfect.

Belfast was at this period intellectually and morally the brightest spot in Ireland: the Presbyterians, who formed the majority of the inhabitants, retained not a little of the republican spirit of the ancient covenanters, softened but not blunted by the literary acquirements which the sterner spirit of the early followers of John Knox had condemned. They felt, and they could not avoid feeling, their immense superiority over the oligarchy to which England, in an evil hour, had intrusted the direction of Irish affairs. The gambols of ignorant tyranny are the fairest game for satire: if, in one point of view, they would make Democritus weep, in another they would compel Heraclitus himself to laugh. Fear is at once equally cruel and ridiculous: the Irish oligarchy was thoroughly frightened, and in its terror, it enacted at once the pranks of the tiger and the donkey, terrible at one step and supremely absurd at the next. The *Northern Star* was established by the liberals of Belfast, to expose at once the crimes and the follies of the Government. Mr. Sampson was one of its most active contributors; several of his political squibs were considered so valuable that they were collected and circulated as pamphlets. Amongst these, the one which excited the most attention was a mock review of a pretended epic poem, called the "Lion of Old England," which was in substance a caustic

satire on Pitt's administration, and particularly on the miserable failure of the Duke of York's campaign.

The main object of the "Lion" was to show that the power of England was not so sure a support to a misgoverning oligarchy as the rulers believed, and to encourage the friends of reform by showing that Europe had vainly banded against the cause of freedom in France. Incidentally, he exposes the iniquity of war, the hollowness of the pretences by which the Pitt administration excused the commencement of hostilities against the French republic, the abuse of the pulpit as a means of raising a cry against political opponents, and some of the absurdities of the common law. Some good-humoured ridicule is thrown on the want of discipline in the English army, and sketches given of some military coxcombs and martinets whom it is not worth while to rescue from oblivion.

The "Lion" gave great offence to the officers who were quartered in Belfast and the neighbourhood; one of them insulted and struck Mr. Sampson's servant on parade; upon which Mr. Sampson published a card in the Belfast papers, calling upon the officer to come forward and make his observations on Mr. Sampson's character to himself in person. No notice was taken of this appeal, and for some time men of every party amused themselves with squibs on the valour of the hero who fought with the jackal, but kept out of the way of the claws of the lion.

A more pregnant source of merriment was the rigid search made for arms that never existed, and for

objects of suspicion on anonymous information. The South Cork Militia had a fatiguing campaign of marches and counter-marches, to gratify their colonel, who dreamed that he was about to make some great discoveries, which would ensure his immortality. Some celebrity ensued from his excursion, in the shape of a ballad, having for its *refrain*—

> " No dog with a cannister tied to his tail
> E'er made such a rout as my Lord Doneraile."

In May, 1794, Mr. Sampson appeared as junior counsel for the proprietors of the *Northern Star*, indicted for libel. We have not been able to discover any report of the trial; but we know that Mr. Sampson's services were highly appreciated by his clients, for they presented him with a handsome silver vase, appropriately inscribed, as a token of their gratitude.

It was about this time that the struggle between the oligarchy and the reformers began to exhibit some symptoms of the desperate character which it subsequently assumed; both parties lost their temper, and refused to be guided by prudence or moderation. " Forbear to strike the land with whips," was the first moderate request of the reformers: " For daring to complain, we will chastise it with scorpions," replied the modern imitators of Rehoboam; and they kept their word.

Mr. Sampson, in the American edition of the Life of Curran, gives the following account of his taking the oath of an United Irishman:—" I was generally engaged for those on the north-east circuit, charged with treason, sedition, and union. I had a full op-

portunity of knowing their sentiments, when nothing was or could be concealed from me. I was here also a disinterested witness, for I was connected with the accused at that time by no tie but the sympathies of humanity, and certainly not by interest, since all my hopes of advancement lay the other way. I write this in a community where I am known, where many others whom they called traitors have lived and are thoroughly known, and in this community, I think, we will find credit; and, therefore, I speak truth, in confidence that my veracity will not be questioned.

" It shocked me to see hundreds of thousands of my countrymen, among whom were many possessing all the purity and all the virtue that could adorn their species, branded as traitors, and living at the mercy of the veriest and vilest traitors. Manhood could nor ought not to endure it, and, seeing the crisis at hand when there could be no more neutrality, I took, in open court, the oath of the United Irishmen, repeating it from the very document on which my client then stood for his trial—for his life or his death. I learned afterwards that Thomas Addis Emmet had, in an opposite extremity of the kingdom, without any concert between us, done the same thing from a like impulse, and having done so defied the jury to indict him.

" I did not do this in a spirit of bravado or romance, but because I hated dissimulation, and felt a consciousness that I was doing what became me, and I have never repented of it."

Mr. Sampson has often said, that he never joined the United Societies, but kept himself free to act as

their advocate on their trials, where he was always joined with Curran, and never took the United oath, except when he took it in court, which made his persecution the more atrocious.

In November, 1796, Mr. Sampson writes to Mrs. Sampson, in Belfast, to quiet her fears respecting him. The letter concludes with the following words:— "I trust the line of patient suffering which I have so strenuously recommended to all whom I could at all influence, will be generally acted upon. If so, things may turn out very happily yet."

There can be no doubt that Mr. Sampson was to the last anxious for a reconciliation with the Government, believing that there were chances of obtaining a redress of grievances by legal and constitutional means. His views may be best explained by the following resolutions, adopted at his recommendation by a large public meeting, assembled in the spirited town of Belfast.

31st of December, 1796. The French being at Bantry Bay, the Sovereign of Belfast, John Brown, called a meeting, submitting to the inhabitants the necessity of arming themselves in defence of the country. The meeting was addressed by Arthur O'Connor and Counsellor Sampson among others. A Committee was appointed to consider the best means of defence against the enemy, to be proposed to a general meeting on the 1st of January, 1797.

Sampson spoke at considerable length in defence of the loyalty of the liberal party of Belfast, and their readiness to oppose the enemy.

O'Connor took occasion to express his disapproba-

tion of the ministry, " the most detestable that ever disgraced any country," but approved of the proposed measures of the meeting. He advised those present "to be cautious in determining, but when they did determine, he hoped they would be firm."

The Committee appointed to act at the general meeting were the Sovereign, Rev. W. Bristow, Counsellor Sampson, Mr. R. Thompson, Dr. White, Mr. A. O'Connor, Mr. W. Tennent, Mr. R. Simms, and Mr. M'Ilvain, jun.

At the meeting on the 2nd of January, 1797, Counsellor Sampson took the chair. The following resolutions were passed:—

1st, That the imperfect state of the representation in the House of Commons is the primary cause of the discontent at present existing in the country.

2nd, That the public mind would be restored to tranquillity, and every impending danger effectually averted by such a reform in Parliament as would secure to population and property their due weight in the scale of government, without distinction on account of religious opinion.

3rd, That a determination, firmly manifested on the part of Government, to comply with the just desires of the people, would have the happiest effect in conciliating the affections of the people, whose object is reform alone; and thereby constitute the only rampart of defence that can bid complete defiance to the efforts of foreign and domestic enemies.

4th. That such a change in the system of government would give to property, law, religion, and the necessary distinctions of rank, additional stability and

weight; and that no opinion can be entertained by the people so dangerous as the despair of succeeding in their constitutional exertions to attain the most important object of their wishes.

5th, That we can conceive a government by Kings, Lords, and Commons, (the Commons being thus reformed,) when wisely and honestly administered, capable of affording every happiness a nation can enjoy.

6th, That we are ready, if permitted by Government, to arm in like manner as the volunteers, whose memory we revere, and whose example we wish to imitate.

Lord Clare, in speaking of these resolutions, "begged to recall to their Lordships' attention the daring insolence of some of those persons in the great commercial town of Belfast, where a meeting was lately held, at which *resolutions of so treasonable a nature* were entered into as to make us amazed at the mildness of Government in not punishing the authors."

Lord Clare's amazement at the mildness of the Government was a hint not lost on the military commanders and magistrates of Ulster. They began to exhibit renewed examples of vigour beyond the law; amongst others Mr. Sampson's house was searched for Neilson; but the exploit had a ridiculous termination; the noble lord who headed the search got fastened into the hay-loft, and was detained for some time an involuntary prisoner. He was honoured with the nickname of "Punch in the hay-loft," by the editors of the *Northern Star*, which he retained

to the day of his death. For these and other ex posures of similar outrages a party of musqueteer was sent to the office of the *Star;* the soldiers, actin under the orders of the officers, broke the pres destroyed the type, and expelled the printers at th point of the bayonet. In vain did the proprietor seek any compensation for this illegal and atrociou outrage. The Earl of Clare, the Lord Chancello of Ireland, and therefore the head of the adminis tration of justice, vindicated this open violation o peace and justice in the House of Lords. The Iris Parliament was so pleased with the proceeding tha they consecrated the precedent into a statute. A act was passed in 1798, empowering grand juri to prosecute newspapers for sedition, and authorizin the magistrates in such cases to seize and destro the printing materials.

Never in the annals of civilized humanity wer such atrocious outrages committed as those perpe trated by the undisciplined and licentious soldiery let loose at free quarters upon the unhappy peasantry of Ireland. These outrages were as shamelessly denied in England as they were ruthlessly perpe trated in Ireland. Even at the present day me are to be found who affect to disbelieve the acts o savage barbarity, by which the peasants were goaded, designedly and of purpose, to the desperate resourc of insurrection. There is scarcely a Protestant i Munster above the age of forty who has not heard these very atrocities made the subject of brutal boast by some of those who were engaged in thei perpetration; they triumphantly told how the life

of man and the honour of woman were at the mercy of every one who wore a red coat, and they related countless anecdotes to prove that the quality of mercy was in either case but rarely exercised; half-hanging, the tortures of the lash, the picquet and the knotted cord, firing gunpowder mixed with the roots of the hair, placing pitch-caps on the heads of victims, and setting them in flames were openly practised, were vindicated in the Irish Parliament, and denied in the English, were themes of pride and boast within human memory, and are still fondly referred to by certain public writers as the "days of justice and strong Government."

Dr. Whitley Stokes, a fellow of the Dublin University, and one of its greatest ornaments, prepared a memorial containing authenticated details of the detestable enormities practised on the peasantry in the south of Ireland. He transmitted it to the lord-lieutenant, Earl Camden; but he was a mere tool in the hands of the agents of oppression, Lords Clare, Carhampton, and the Beresfords. It is doubtful whether Lord Camden ever saw the memorial, for we have heard on good authority that towards the close of his life he bitterly complained of having been kept in utter ignorance of the atrocities practised in the name of his Government.* Whether

* There has been a disposition, perhaps, too prevalent, to attribute all the evils (evils unparalleled in magnitude except in the trans-Atlantic dominions of Spain) of Lord Camden's Government in Ireland to the councils of the violent and remorseless men by whom he was surrounded. We now hear of him only as a man naturally humane; but constitutionally indolent and mentally de-

Lord Camden saw the memorial or not, it is certain that he took no notice of it; his friend Sampson, however, having obtained a copy of the paper, transmitted it to Earl Moira who lost no time in bringing the matter before the British Parliament.

The statement made but a feeble impression; the ministers were resolved to hear nothing which would

ficient; a good easy tempered man, who never suffered wrong to be done except upon compulsion, and never signed an order for an execution, or a proclamation for the enforcement of martial law, or the infliction of some new measure of coercion on the country, unless he was persuaded to do so by others, or duped and deceived by them. Admitting to the fullest extent his incompetency, the difficulties attendant on his family connexion with a member of the Irish aristocracy, whose fatal influence prevailed at the Castle, his conduct on many occasions evinced no repugnance to acts of extraordinary harshness, which the Lord Chancellor had the boldness to assert were wrung from Lord Camden by him and his colleagues, and which his nephew, Lord Castlereagh, laid claim to the odium of as a portion of his own merits. We are enabled, on the authority of a gentleman whose rank and reputation are equal to his deserts, to give an instance of the odium of an unfeeling act being ascribed to Lord Clare, which ought to have fallen on Lord Camden. In the instance to which we allude, the conduct of Lord Clare was deserving of the highest praise, and it is no small gratification, after having had so many occasions to call his name in question in connexion with proceedings of a similar nature, to be able on indisputable authority to record an act of his which showed how much that man's nature must have been perverted by the circumstances of his position and the violence of party warfare. In the words of the gentleman we have referred to, "When Lady Louisa Conolly received intelligence that her nephew, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was dying, she applied to Lord Camden for leave to see him; Lord Camden displayed the most callous indifference to her misery, while, on a similar application to Lord Clare, he showed great warmth of feeling, and delicacy of character. Lord Camden was a man with the fibres of feeling as insensible as the fibres of

disturb their complacency; the only answer vouchsafed was, that if such a statement were true, Ireland would have resisted. Ireland took the hint; Mr. Sampson's share in supplying the information to Earl Moira was generally known, it provoked the greatest indignation among the dominant faction.*

intellect, to external objects; but truth is truth, and Lord Clare behaved like a man of feeling and generosity on that occasion.

"Lady Louisa Conolly, having her niece, Miss Emily Napier, with her, went to Lord Camden, and prayed him long and earnestly, in vain, to let her visit Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his prison. When she came back to her carriage, she said, with a violence of feeling the more remarkable from its contrast with the sedate and tranquil dignity which belonged to her character, 'I, who never before kneeled to aught but my God, grovelled at that man's feet in vain!' From the Castle she drove to Lord Clare's house. He was at dinner; it was a sort of cabinet dinner, but he came out instantly to her carriage, having his napkin in his hand. She asked him for an order to see Lord Edward. He said he 'could not give her one, it had been so settled,' but seeing the strong emotion excited by this answer, he added abruptly, 'but I can go with you, and let you into the jail;' then jumping into the carriage, having his napkin still in his hand, he drove to the jail, introduced her, and, after some time, came out to Miss Napier, and said, 'Lady Louisa will be a long time, it is not fitting you should remain here; I will stop with her;' and then, placing a police officer behind the carriage to protect it, he sent Miss Napier home, retired to the outer room of Lord Edward's prison, and remained for three or four hours, waiting Lady Louisa's time of departure."—R. R. M.

* Extract from letters of General G. Cockburn, K.C.H., on Ireland, to the Marquess of Anglesea; entitled, "Six Letters on Subjects Important to England," 1831.

"I certainly was in Dublin in 1798; and though I felt for the wrongs of my country as much as any one, I was not a United Irishman. I then held the King's commission as a Lieutenant-Colonel. I never was guilty of a dishonourable act, and I could gain nothing by rebellion. After all, if I was a marked man, so were my friends Grattan, Curran, and Mr. G. Ponsonby—all suspected of being United

Irishmen. I happen to know what enables me to declare in the most solemn manner, and to the most positive certainty, that not one of them was of that society. I however have the strongest reasons to believe, and quite sufficient to convince myself, that many persons little suspected, and whose names would astonish if disclosed, were of the United Society. * * *

" But we all belonged to another society, and the only political one I ever belonged to, if it could be called so, I ever was a member of, and of which, it being a curious historical anecdote, I will state all I know. I think it was in 1797, or early in 1798, that Lord Moira, in consequence of some remarks on Ireland which he made in the English House of Lords, received a political challenge from Lord Clare to come to Ireland, and face to face make his statements in the Irish House of Lords. He accepted the challenge. His friends, however, amongst whom I made a zealous one, were afraid that he had gone a little too far in England, having spoken from report, and that if not supported by statements on oath he would fail; and accordingly this society was got up for the purpose of procuring documents, &c., for him.

" Our meetings were not a secret to the Irish government. They had notice from ourselves that several members of Parliament belonged to it. I must, however, say, that there were in fact three parties in the society, (though all agreed in the avowed object,) and nearly divided as to numbers. What I may call our party, had no object but the support of Lord Moira. One were certainly United Irishmen. Emmet, and Sampson, and others belonged to it; but I must do them the justice to say they acted correctly with us, though violent, and inclined to go beyond our established rules; and the other party were men who neither cared for Lord Moira, nor would go the length of being United Irishmen, but who detested the Irish government so much that they would join in any thing they thought would annoy them. At the same time the society worked well, and a great body of most curious evidence and documents, all on oath, of much outrage committed on the people, came in to us from all parts of Ireland, fully bearing out Lord Moira, and proving the atrocious system carrying on.

" The government never interfered with us. Our rule was to meet twice a week, but not in the same place (*de suite*,) and always at the private houses of the members, or at the Moira Hotel.

" When all was ready, it was debated whether the original papers,

or copies of them, should be given to Lord Moira, to support his attack in the House of Lords, and to be then given to the King.

"It was determined not to give him the originals, but attested copies, which when made, were compared in the presence of Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan, and signed by them. The originals remained with the Society. Now as to their fate. Lord Moira, as he told me himself, delivered the copies into the hands of George III., but what became of them after he cannot tell, and probably no one now can tell. As to the originals, they met the fate of James the Second's papers, so long preserved in the Irish College at Paris, and which Mr. Fox took such pains to recover.

"The last time the Society met, was at the Moira hotel, Sackville-street, just before spring assizes, as things began to look very gloomy, and the Society were to adjourn, several lawyers being of it, till after the circuits. It was debated what should be done with the papers: one gentleman proposed that they should be sealed up and delivered into my custody, another, that they should be given, sealed up, to Mr. Sampson, and after much argument they were decreed, unfortunately, to Mr. Sampson; the Society broke up, and never met more.

"I did not discover the fate of these documents for several years, and shall now relate it. The worthy Mr. Kirwan, the philosopher, was going one morning from his house in Cavendish-row to the Dublin Society, and as he passed the end of Abbey-street he saw parties of military, yeomanry, and police, &c., making domiciliary visits; he was a kind-hearted man, and intimate with Sampson, whom he suspected* (and as it indeed turned out) to be one of the United Irishmen, and thinking he would be visited, as he lived in that street, he hurried to his lodgings and told him what was going on, advising him, if he had any papers which might compromise him, to destroy them instantly. Sampson immediately threw many papers into the fire. So far I had from Kirwan himself. He immediately left Sampson, and had not gone far, when he saw his lodgings visited. Sampson, however, had just time to put the Society's packet into his lawyer's bag, and desired his servant, whom he could depend on, to get out by the garden into the stable lane, and make his way to a

* Kirwan was a United Irishman himself; Macneven states, sworn by him.—R. R. M.

Counsellor Orr, who lived in Marlborough-street. Orr was of the Society, and I believe, also a United Irishman, and though perfectly honest, was perhaps the last man to whom he should have intrusted the documents; but, probably in Sampson's hurry and agitation, he was the first that came into his head.

"The servant escaped, and the visitors found nothing. Mr. Sampson soon after was obliged to secrete himself,—this was before the memorable 26th of May, and escaped to England, but was there arrested and sent prisoner to Ireland, when he confessed to his being a United Irishman,* and with others was conditionally pardoned, and ultimately banished to America.

"Orr was a vain, weak man, but he kept the secret; no one would imagine he had the papers, but in his vanity he let his mother into the secret, and she, poor old woman, frightened out of her wits, took the first opportunity of his being out, got hold of them, and made an *auto da fé* in the yard, where they were all consumed. Had these papers been deposited with me, they would have been safe, for though I had no particular reason to expect a domiciliary visit to search for papers or arms in my house, yet, knowing what was going on, I should have taken good care, not only of the papers, but of the secret. * * *

"The loss of the papers I have mentioned, is certainly to be lamented; they would have been invaluable to an historian.† They were all verified on oath by respectable witnesses, and almost from every county in Ireland, particularly the North. They contained details of most horrible outrages on the people, cruelty, and foul deeds, that perhaps after all, it may be as well to have now effaced from Irish records. Of course violence begets violence, and though the people in many cases were driven to retaliation, it was not before murder, burning, destruction of property, often on suspicion of being suspected, and flogging, drove them to desperation."

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* The above statement is not correct.—R. R. M.

† Fortunately all these papers have not been lost; a portion of them, privately printed in London in the winter of 1797, is in the possession of the author.—R. R. M.

CHAPTER XVII.

We must allow Sampson to relate himself the commencement of the history of his persecutions:—

"Before any open violence was attempted against me, I had been often distantly threatened, and indirectly insulted; and particularly on the 12th of February, 1798, I was charged with high treason by the aldermen of Dublin. This charge of high treason was upon the following ground. The printer of the paper called the *Press*, Mr. Stockdale, was imprisoned under an arbitrary sentence for breach of privilege in not answering to interrogatories tending to convict him before a parliamentary committee; and whilst he was lying in gaol, his house was beset by a large military force, and his afflicted wife was thrown into an agony of terror. This scene was in my neighbourhood. I was the counsel of the husband, and whilst at dinner, received a request from Mrs. Stockdale to go and confer with the high sheriff on her behalf, and to deprecate the vengeance that was threatened. I found the house crowded with military, who threatened to demolish it, as other printers' houses had been demolished. The types and printing implements were destroyed, and the unfortunate

woman thrown into an agony of terror. After inter
ceding with the sheriff he conducted me to the door
Mrs. Stockdale's sister having picked up a parcel o
ball cartridges, deposited by the sheriff himself, o
by his consent, on a former occasion, for the pur
poses of defence against a mob, became fearful tha
they might be made a pretext for a massacre, took ad
vantage of the door being opened for me to carry then
away. They broke through her apron, and scattere
upon the flags. The whole sergeant's guard cryin
out that they had found the *croppy's pills*, pursue
me at full speed. I turned short to meet them, an
by that means checked their fury. I was immedi
ately surrounded by near twenty bayonets presente
to my body, each soldier encouraging his comrade t
run me through. I assumed an air of confidence an
security beyond what I felt, and appealed to th
sergeant, who, after some rough parley, led me bac
a prisoner to his officers within. He, the lady, th
sergeant, and some others, underwent an examinatio
and, at two in the morning, I was told by alderma
Carleton that there was a charge against me amount
ing to high treason, but that if I would be upo
honour to present myself to him on the followin
day, he would enlarge me. I went the next morn
ing, accompanied by Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Hi
Wilson, and the honourable John Leeson, to deman
some explanation: the alderman was denied, an
there the matter finished, as it began—in buffoonery

"I learned afterwards, that the investment an
occupation of Mr. Stockdale's house was to prever
an intended publication in the *Press* against Lor

Clare, from circulating. That side of the newspaper, however, which contained it, had already been printed, and the soldiers who made prize of the impression, circulated it rapidly at a greatly advanced price."

Sampson's name was included in the list of those marked for arrest on the memorable 12th of March. He was from home when the soldiers came; his house was searched, and nothing that could justify suspicion found; but an officer of the Cavan militia had the wickedness to report that the commission of a French general had been found in Mr. Sampson's study, and a young nobleman publicly proclaimed the same falsehood to the yeomanry composed of the gentlemen of the Dublin University. Mr. Sampson reasonably concluded that this lie was devised for the purpose of pointing him out as a victim for assassination; he escaped to England, but was arrested at Whitehaven, and sent to Carlisle gaol. Thence he wrote to the Duke of Portland, declaring his readiness to stand his trial if any thing should be laid to his charge, and if not, requesting liberty to remain in England. The Duke was a stupid, puzzle-pated statesman, but not capable of prepense injustice, at least, we should be slow to believe that his conduct was spontaneous; we rather think that he was guided by the advice of some unworthy underling when he ordered Mr. Sampson to be transmitted to Dublin.

On his arrival in Dublin, Sampson was taken to the Castle to be examined by Secretary Cooke, virtual ruler of Ireland. Cooke did not examine the pri-

soner, but ordered him to be sent to Bridewell, where notice of trial was served upon him in due form. He resolved to communicate with some legal friend, by means of a faithful servant who was permitted to converse with him through the bars of the prison. What followed must be told in his own words:—

"Upon receiving the notice of trial, I sent him with the good news to Mr. Vincent, an attorney, connected by marriage with my family, to request this gentleman to come and consult with me upon the necessary steps towards justifying myself, and confounding my accusers, if any should dare to appear against me. But, unhappily, there was no thought of trying me, as you will see by the atrocious result of this insolent mockery of justice. Mr. Vincent, pursuant to my request, wrote in the ordinary course to the secretary, Mr. Cooke, who seemed now to have usurped all civil jurisdiction in such cases, for leave to come to me, and received for answer—a refusal. That I might be apprized of this, for he dared not now come himself, even in sight of my prison, he copied Mr. Cooke's note, and sent it open by my servant John, who delivered it to be read by the gaoler, and afterwards it was handed up through the iron bars of my window, upon the point of the sergeant's halberd. Such was the crime for which this unfortunate young man was pursued, dragged forcibly from the house of Mr. Leeson to the barracks of the Cavan militia, where he was put to the cruelest torture. One executioner was brought to relieve another: his back and shoulders were first mangled, and then the rest of his body bared, and wantonly

lacerated. This done, he was thrown, raw and smarting, upon the boards of the guard-room, with a threat of a similar execution on the following day, which he certainly must have undergone, had not Mr. Leeson made interest to save him, a favour which he with difficulty obtained. Though the bringing of the letter touching the subject of my trial was the pretext for this infamous deed, yet the farther object appeared during the execution: for, as often as the torture was suspended, the young man was exhorted to save himself by some denunciation of his master. Such was the end of that famous notice of trial, of which, from that day forward, I could never hear a word."

It was soon known to the terrorists of the Irish Government, that many of those whom they had arrested would be acquitted for want of legal evidence. Colonel Maxwell, of the Cavan militia, better known to English readers as Colonel Barry, and afterwards as Lord Farnham, actually proposed in the House of Commons that all the State prisoners should be tried by courts-martial. This measure, at a time when an Irish court martial was infinitely worse than the worst tribunal which ever existed in revolutionary France, would obviously have been equivalent to a general massacre. Lord Castlereagh's compact with the State prisoners would not admit of this extreme proceeding; he dissuaded the noble lord from his sanguinary proposal. Mr. Sampson and his associates remained in prison until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, as successor to Lord Camden, produced a partial alleviation of the reign of terror. Negotiations

were commenced with the State prisoners, to which Mr. Sampson was a party; his object being to stop the effusion of blood by a signal act of self-devotion. There was no evidence whatever against him, nor the possibility of bringing him to trial when he made this sacrifice. Self-banishment was the price which these captives had to pay for their security; but the Government refused them permission to leave the country; and it was not without considerable difficulty that Sampson obtained permission to go to Portugal; the physicians having recommended that country as the most favourable to the restoration of his health. Some notion of the state of society in Dublin, at this period, may be formed from the account which Sampson gives of the circumstances immediately following his liberation.

"It was on the night of the rejoicings for the victory of Lord Nelson, and many of the yeomanry were in disorder through the streets. There was a group squibbing off cartridges on the flags in Abbey-street, through which I was to pass; and one of them taking offence that we wore our hair short, called out, 'Croppies,' which was their word of attack; and, just as we passed, fired a blunt cartridge into John's shoulder. I paid no attention to the shot, not knowing what had happened; and I had now a fresh proof of the magnanimity of my unfortunate companion; for he never disclosed what had happened until we were at a considerable distance, fearing, and justly, that my patience might not have been proof against such atrocity: but when at length he thought it time to discover the wound he had received, I went with

him into a shop to examine it, and found that his clothes had been pierced through, and the point of the cartridge forced into the very bone. The contusion was attended with violent swelling, and the pain doubtless aggravated extremely by the quantity of unburned gunpowder which was buried in his flesh. Such was the event of the first ten minutes of my liberty, after a seclusion of so many months. At least it was well calculated to cure me of any regret I might have at leaving my native country, which I had loved but too well, and where I could boast certainly that the esteem of my fellow-citizens was a great part of my crime. Having thus once more escaped assassination, a fate I have not been unfrequently threatened with, we returned to Bridewell; where, with my wife, I spent the last evening in the society of my fellow-sufferers."

After various unsuccessful attempts to obtain a passage, Sampson at length sailed from Dublin on the 24th of November, 1798, and on the 27th of the same month was wrecked near the small port of Pullhely, in North Wales. Having communicated his situation to the Duke of Portland, Mr. Sampson was permitted to remain in North Wales until an opportunity should occur for the continuance of his voyage. He became acquainted with some of the gentlemen of Carnarvonshire, and received some kind attentions from Lieutenant-colonel Edwards, of the county militia, a zealous magistrate, strongly opposed to Mr. Sampson in political opinion. On the 3rd of March, Mr. Sampson, after a voyage of three weeks from Falmouth, arrived in Oporto. He began to lead

a quiet, retired life in the country residence of a hospitable merchant, Mr. Nash, to whom he had obtained letters of introduction; but on the 12th of March he was arrested by the Portuguese authorities, "by order," as they asserted, "of the English minister, in consequence of something which Mr. Sampson was supposed to be writing." To the mystery of the iniquitous persecution which followed, Mr. Sampson was not able to discover a clue. We are enabled, from other circumstances, to furnish a very probable explanation of the matter; and to this we must request the attention of our readers.

During the reign of terror in Ireland, an immense power devolved on the inferior officials employed in the castle of Dublin, and many atrocious deeds were perpetrated by these underlings, of which the ostensible ministers of the crown were kept in utter ignorance. Curran's speech in the case of "Hevey against Sirr," shows that such an insignificant underling as the town-major of Dublin was the supreme arbiter of life and death, and that when the courts of law interfered between him and his victim, he did not hesitate to fabricate a gross falsehood, and assert that his prisoner was detained on a warrant of high treason, issued by General Craig. Curran's eloquence has made Hevey's case generally known throughout Europe; but it was no isolated instance, it was but a specimen of what was done by under-secretaries, clerks, "jacks in office, and dogs in office," to use a significant phrase of the period. Men were murdered by sentences of courts-martial, the proceedings of which were sometimes not reported at all, and, still

more frequently, suppressed by the inferior authorities in the Castle. One of the greatest difficulties against which Lord Cornwallis had to contend, was the withholding of official documents at the discretion of certain underlings, who knew well the means of suppressing everything which would not bear scrutiny. This "bureau-cracy" was an inveterate evil of Ireland, in the early part of Earl Grey's administration. The underlings of the Castle boasted pretty openly, that what their superiors had planned in the council, they counteracted in the offices; and it has been asserted that the documents which led Lord Grey to the worst measure of his government, the Coercion Act, were falsified in Dublin Castle; that there were suppressions, variations, and direct forgeries in the reports presented to him, by which he and his associates were completely and unfortunately duped. In fact, it is notorious that the Orange faction, by exclusive possession of the inferior offices of administration, ruled Ireland *against* the Whigs, up to the time when the lamented Mr. Drummond was appointed under secretary of state.

One of the chief instruments of tyranny was the Battalion of Testimony. These were a set of hired spies, informers, and witnesses, kept in the pay of the Castle, ever ready to denounce and swear against any person whom it was the interest or the pleasure of their employers to remove. Any interference with this "sacred band," was sure to bring down the vengeance of the officials who organized "the battalion." In Curran's speech on the trial to which we have already referred, it will be seen that Hevey's original offence was

having exposed the perjury of one of these wretches, and thus secured the acquittal of a prisoner. Immediately after the trial, Sirr told Hevey that "he would teach him how to meddle with one of *his* witnesses," and Hevey very narrowly escaped being hanged, for daring to discredit one of the Battalion of Testimony, which, in fact, was more formidable to the country than all the battalions of the army. Immense precautions have been taken to conceal every thing connected with the history of these miscreants; in many cases they went under fictitious names, and have thus endeavoured to screen their families from hereditary infamy; the son of the perjured Reynolds, who exchanged traffic in silk for the more lucrative traffic in oaths, has alone had the exquisite simplicity to publish himself

> "Heir to a dishonour'd name,
> Blighted by a father's shame;"

the rest have rejoiced in the shelter of oblivion, and even Captain John Warensford Armstrong has had the prudence to let his *res gestæ* "sleep in the shade." Our business rests not in the exposure of these secrets; we wish to vindicate the dead at the least possible cost of pain to the living: we shall therefore mention no names but such as are already before the public.

As the Irish were supposed not to be very well versed in the spy-system, Mr. Pitt sent over some of his trained English spies to drill the Battalion of Testimony. Amongst these drill-serjeants in espionage was a man named Bird, but who had a host of *aliases:*

he was a man of considerable versatility of talent, improved by education, and though his moral principles were lax, he was not so lost to all sense of decency as to be unsusceptible of scruple. As Mr. Sampson was conspicuous for his zeal in defence of the wretched victims marked out for the vengeance of the government officials, Bird, who was quite unprepared to find the Irish witnesses go far beyond the profligacy of even Mr. Pitt's spies, and was visited by some feelings of compunction, intimated a wish for an interview with Mr. Sampson, in order to reveal the system of iniquity practised by the Battalion of Testimony: Sampson went to Bird, accompanied by his brother and Mr. Grattan. In their presence this extraordinary man wrote out thirty-two pages of large paper, containing an "unexampled tissue of profligacy, villany, and obscenity." This document was placed in the hands of Lord Moira, by whom some copies of it were communicated to leading members of the Opposition; and, during his residence in Wales, Mr. Sampson applied to Lord Moira either for the original or a verified copy, to use in his own vindication.

Whether this letter was opened at the post-office, or whether Lord Moira spoke of the subject at Carlton House, where Mr. Pitt undoubtedly had faithful spies, we are unable to determine; but certain it is that the officials obtained knowledge of the existence of the document, and of the probable use which Mr. Sampson would make of it. This was the real cause of his arrest, and of the seizure of his papers in Portugal; and his long detention in the

prison of Lisbon, to which he was removed fr
Oporto, and the shuffling between the Portugu
authorities and the English embassy, respecting
detention, was a shabby evasion to gain time, until
papers could be sent to England for examinati
Mr. Sampson very slightly notices this circumstan
when his papers were at length returned, in c
sequence of an application to the Portuguese
thorities.

We must refer for the curious details of Mr. San
son's imprisonment to his published memoirs, a
hasten to its conclusion. Having been banished
Act of Parliament, he could not return to Englar
the Portuguese authorities, wearied by the ann
ance of examining into matters which did not conc
them, were probably ashamed of the part wh
they were compelled to play by the English functi
aries, they, therefore, resolved to remove Samp
from their country; as he had pledged himself not
go to any country at war with England, he was sl
out, if not permitted to remain in Portugal, from
the Continent, save Hamburgh and Genoa, and
had no means of getting to either from Lisbon.
these difficulties were summarily settled by the P
tuguese government; Sampson was conveyed
board a vessel bound for Bourdeaux, and kept
ignorance of his destination until he had perform
the greater part of his voyage. The vessel was driv
by stress of weather into St. Sebastian; here M
Sampson very narrowly escaped being detained p
soner of war, but was eventually permitted to c
tinue his journey to France. On reaching Bayon

he found the French undetermined whether they should treat him as an enemy or a refugee; but, after much tedious discussion, the authorities consented to receive him as an exile for the sake of liberty, and he lived for some months in perfect retirement at Bourdeaux.

We have seen that certain subordinate agents of the British ministry had induced the Portuguese government to kidnap Mr. Sampson, and send him to France, without ever informing him of his destination. It must now be added, that some of the English cabinet, either from ignorance of the circumstances, or from a wish to avail themselves of any pretext for oppression, however absurd, affected to regard Mr. Sampson's forced residence in France as criminal; and, therefore, placed impediments in the way of his being joined by his wife and children.

At the peace of 1801, Lord Cornwallis visited Paris *en route* to Amiens as British plenipotentiary. The compact between the Irish Government and the state prisoners having been negotiated when that nobleman was Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Sampson resolved to apply to him for some alleviation of the wrongs to which he had been subjected by the shabby breach of faith on the part of the Government. In accordance with the recommendation of Colonel Littlehales, he presented a memorial to Lord Cornwallis, which was finally, by his lordship, transmitted to the British ministry, and which was then referred from London to the castle of Dublin. It produced a direct refusal of permission to Mr. Sampson to visit Ireland, and an ungracious offer of facilitating Mrs. Sampson's

passage to France, with her family. On the breakin out of the war, Mr. Sampson, who expected that sense of common justice might still induce the Britis ministers to restore him to his country, quitted Franc for a neutral country, and after a short delay i Holland proceeded to Hamburgh. It deserves to b remarked, that Mr. Sampson presented himself to th British ministers and consuls at every place where h could find an opportunity, stated to them the circun stances of his case, the hardship of which they a confessed, and was assured that they would represe the matter in the strongest light to Lord Hawkesbur

It is now generally known that some members the English cabinet acknowledged and lamented th breach of faith to the Irish state prisoners, and in sinuated that but for an insurmountable obstacl they would have granted the redress which honou and justice imperatively demanded. There can this day be no reason for concealing that this obstac was the same which prevented Mr. Pitt from fulfillin the plighted pledge of emancipation given at th Union, viz., the unconquerable obstinacy of Georg III. By some secret means he had been filled wit prejudice against the Irish exiles, and no conside ations were of sufficient force to change any opinic which he had once formed. After a long delay Hamburgh, Mr. Sampson, finding that the chances being restored to his country became daily less, bega to contemplate retiring to America; he applied t Lord Hawkesbury for permission to return home, i order to make final arrangements, but receiving n answer, he addressed a memorial to Lord Castlereagl

which was replied to in his usual frigid style, declining to interfere farther than by transmitting his letter to the Irish Secretary.

The death of Mr. Pitt led to a change of ministry in England. The short-lived administration of Mr. Fox was formed, and as it included some of those who had known the real condition of Irish affairs—Earl Moira, Messrs. Grattan, Ponsonby, &c.,—Mr. Sampson reasonably imagined that he had at length a chance of escaping from unmerited persecution. The approach of the French and Prussian armies to Hamburgh exposing Mr. Sampson to the hazard of being forced to become an enemy to his country, or being detained a prisoner of war for an uncertain period, he hazarded a return to England, having obtained a passport from the British minister at Hamburgh, and travelling in company with a king's messenger.

On reaching London he had not the good fortune to meet Mr. Fox, and when he waited on Lord Spencer he was committed to the custody of a messenger, without being permitted to make explanation or remonstrance. Mr. Sampson, under these circumstances, addressed Mr. Fox. The latter was at this time sinking into the grave under accumulated infirmities; he was roused by the tissue of meanness, absurdity, and barbarity which the treatment of Mr. Sampson revealed; he brought the case before the privy council, but the royal prejudices could not be overcome. "The king's friends" significantly hinted that the sovereign's opinions were not to be shaken; and on this occasion, as well as on others of still

greater moment, the Whigs exhibited a flexibility in yielding to the royal obstinacy, which not a little damaged their character with the country.

It was finally arranged that Mr. Sampson should be permitted to go to America. During the interval of doubt and uncertainty he was frequently visited by Archibald Hamilton Rowan, who had just obtained the reversal of his attainder. This generous man, though aware of the misrepresentations to which attention to a state prisoner would expose him, placed his purse and person at Mr. Sampson's disposal, and after his departure continued his attention to his wife and children.

On the 4th of July, 1806, Mr. Sampson landed at New York, where his friend, Dr. Macneven, had arrived on the same day in the preceding year. He was soon after called to the American bar, where he rose to considerable eminence. In 1810 he was joined by his wife and family, from whom he was never again separated. After the restoration of the Bourbons, several eminent French emigrants, and amongst others Joseph Buonaparte, settled in the United States; most of these united in choosing Mr. Sampson as their legal adviser; some of them had befriended him when an exile, and he now more than repaid the obligation. Amongst these emigrants was the son of Theobald Wolfe Tone, who entered Mr. Sampson's office for the purpose of studying the law. After having been long treated as a beloved son, Mr. Tone became the husband of Mr. Sampson's daughter, a lady who united to her father's high intellectual attainments all the softer graces of female accomplish-

ment. In 1820 Mr. Sampson lost his only son, John Philpot Curran Sampson, a young man of the highest promise, who was already at the head of the bar in New Orleans. A monument was erected to his memory by his friends in Louisiana, with the following inscription:—

JOHN P. CURRAN SAMPSON,
Born in Belfast, Ireland,
In the year of our Lord 1795,
Died in New Orleans,
On the 20th of August, 1820.
This tomb,
Sacred to his memory,
Is erected by friends,
Who admired in him that rare assemblage
Of rich gifts from nature,
And great acquisitions from knowledge,
Which rendered him in early life
An ornament to his country;
And after a short residence in Louisiana,
Caused his death to be regretted
As a public loss.

Mr. Sampson's career at the American bar, however honourable to himself, and gratifying to his family and friends, does not properly come within the scope of this work. He delivered, in 1824, a Discourse on the Common Law to the Historical Society of New York, which excited great attention, and led to an interesting correspondence between him and the principal jurists of America. He also edited the American editions of Curran's Life by his son,

and Taylor's History of the Civil Wars of Ireland; and to the latter he appended some very valuable additions, which ought to be incorporated in any future republication of that work.

It had been long a cherished though faint hope of Mr. Sampson to revisit, for some brief space, the land of his birth,

> " The fields beloved in vain,
> Where once his careless childhood stray'd,
> A stranger yet to pain."

The passing of Catholic Emancipation, followed by the formation of a Reform ministry, seemed to afford some prospect that his wishes might be gratified: he wrote on the matter to a gentleman in London, with whom he had accidentally formed a literary acquaintance, and some preliminary steps were taken to procure the permission, or at least the connivance of the Government. Allusion has already been made to the circumstances which produced such a blighting influence on the Irish policy of Earl Grey's cabinet: unexpected doubts, difficulties, and objections were raised by influential persons in Dublin, and when these were on the point of being overcome, the unfortunate Coercion Bill threw every thing into confusion. Mr. Sampson immediately wrote to his friend that he would never accept a favour from the hands of men who had inflicted such a wanton injury on his country. The negotiations were of course broken off: they had placed those engaged in them in rather awkward positions, and were consequently never renewed. But though Mr. Sampson did not return to his native land, the love of his country burned warm in his heart to

the last moment of his life: he took an active and prominent part in all the meetings on Irish affairs held in America, and was ever ready with purse and advice to assist any of his unfortunate countrymen who emigrated to that land of promise.

In 1831 Mr. Sampson was invited to Philadelphia to defend some of his countrymen charged with a riot, which had been provoked by some Orangemen, who, with the usual fatuity and blind stupidity of their party, had attempted to raise the cry of "Protestant Ascendency in Church and State," and to revive the orgies connected with the toast of "the pious, glorious, and immortal memory" of old Glencoe, in the United States. A public dinner was given to Mr. Sampson by the Irish residing in Philadelphia; and the speech which he delivered when responding to the toast of his health, is too honourable to his head and heart to be omitted.

"I can sound the depths of my own understanding and my own talents, and find them much overrated; but little as they are, they have been devoted to the cause of union, honestly and sincerely. This is my only merit, and this the best title I can make to your most consoling and too kind regards.

"Divide and conquer is the tyrant's maxim—Unite and conquer, is the patriot's creed. He who takes this great principle for his leading star, and follows its guidance through storm and peril, will have done his duty, and however adverse his destiny, his course has been the true one. If he has pursued it undauntedly and faithfully, he may suffer shipwreck of his fortune,

or of his life, but never of his conscience or his hono
Such was that brave and honest man, who, with
pretensions to splendid genius or to mighty tale
and of that middle station where virtue is most
to fix its habitation, and with whose honest nam
am most proud to be identified—such was *Willi
Orr*. He was no boastful orator—no aspiring lead
His love was for his country, and his sole ambit
for its deliverance. You, who have never seen hi
as I have, may figure to yourselves a plain and hon
countryman; but one upon whose front nature l
stamped the virtues that dwelt within his breast. A
though it matters not what are the outward lin
ments of him whose soul is pure, and courage nob
yet, let me say he was one in whose manly coun
nance, fine stature, and fair proportions, was writ
—MAN! and let me tell you now for what
died.

"Amongst the bloody acts of a ferocious Parliame
scourges and traitors to their country, minions and
cophants of a foreign and a hostile Government, th
was one to which they gave the too just title of
Insurrection Act. In this there was a clause wh
made it felony of death to take unlawful oaths.
one not versed in Irish history, it might appear t
this enactment was to punish the exterminating oa
of those called 'Peep-of-day Boys,' afterwa
'Orangemen.' But no! these were encouraged,
warded, and indemnified. It was at the great p
ciple of Union that they aimed, for that they kn
would lead to liberty. Hear, then, the obligation

which this patriot was condemned by drunken jurors, perjured witnesses, and a judge who shed vain tears of contrition and compunction in passing the horrible sentence of death upon him. This it was:

" ' In the presence of God I do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland.'

" You have not heard it all. The conscience-stricken jury who found him guilty recommended him to mercy. Some of them came forward, and in open court made solemn oath, that liquor had been introduced into the room where they had retired to deliberate upon the verdict, and that the result had been almost general intoxication; that one of the body had terrified them with denunciations of vengeance for their disloyalty; that still these fearful menaces against their persons and their dwellings would not have been sufficient to seduce them to so criminal an act, but for the effects of the liquor they had taken, and the deluding assertion, that the life of Mr. Orr was in no danger; that in their minds the case was doubtful, and that they had so stated it in giving in their verdict.

" Stay yet a little; there is yet more to follow. The principal witness made a like solemn oath, that he felt great compunction for his crimes committed against Mr. Orr, and against others, and that what he swore against William Orr was false. A respite of his execution was granted, and much interest was made,

for he was much beloved. Was it through mercy t this was granted? It was not, nor for the sake justice. It was that two murders might be commit —the one upon his person, the other upon his g name. It was published in newspapers that he l confessed his guilt. They went into his cell and fou him in the act of prayer. Mercy was offered u the sole condition that he would acknowledge him to be a guilty man. His fortitude was assailed throu the affections of a brother, and the tears, and pray and lamentations of a beloved wife and five belo children; by whatever could bind the affections o fond husband and tender father to a sweet and ha home. Life was dear, for he was in the season of best enjoyment; children and wife were dear, friends were dear; but, dear as all these were, honour and his truth were dearer still.

" The story of his last moments, as I have he it told by those who witnessed them, was thus:—

" Upon the scaffold, nearest to him, and by his si stood a Roman Catholic domestic, faithful and attac to him. Manacled and pinioned, he directed hin take from his pocket the watch which he had worn now, that time had ceased for him, and his hours minutes were no longer to be measures of his ex ence. ' You, my friend, and I must now part; stations here on earth have been a little different, our modes of worshipping the Almighty Being t we both adore. Before his presence we shall st both equal; farewell, remember Orr.'

" Here the scene closes—here let the curtain f I will not lead you through the tragic acts that follo

on this murder, too hideous to be told—too foul to have a name. Let this serve as the epitome of Ireland's history: a Government that ruled by crime and cruelty; a Government that, whilst it dealt death, and exile, and torture, and ruin, to such men as this, allied itself with all that was corrupt and vile. And if I have any title to your favour, it is not from genius or talents which your partiality would impute to me, but that I have been, in my opposition to this misrule, sincere and resolute. And still may you remember me when you remember Orr. And whilst I live I shall be grateful to you.

" I might perhaps have risen to higher fortunes, and had I stooped as low as others did, I might have worn a coronet, and left, in dying, to my posterity a high and sounding title to hereditary—infamy. With even less of talents or of genius than the tittle I possess, many have been so distinguished. And I think this is no mighty boast. The strange, iniquitous, relentless, mysterious persecutions that I have been honoured with are proof that I was not held of small account, but the reward I have in the esteem and approbation of my country and honoured countrymen, and that of my country's friends, and the transmission of an honest name, is dearer far to me than baubles, that are now fallen full cheap in all discerning eyes,—that even when earned by merit serve but to counteract the great scheme of natural equality and right,—and which, by lifting up the few, degrade the many, and which, when earned by patricidal treachery, are but objects of loathing, contempt, and scorn; and so

should remain, and so descend from generation to generation.

" All is not lost—the time is at hand when true and faithful history will emblazon the achievements by which these guilty honours have been won. Unhappily the history of Ireland has seldom been written with the pen of truth. It has been traced by her enemies, or, which is little better, by indiscreet or else by half-faced friends. He who would be Ireland's historian should have many qualities. A solid judgment to separate the fictions and fables from the valuable truths that are involved with them: a mind free from passion, prejudice, and idle prepossessions. When the darkness in which the history of our own times is shrouded shall be cleared away, how will it then show? How? Like the disordered scene of a long night's debauch when day looks in upon it.

" So great has been the influence of habitual debasement, and the long reign of terror, that scarcely one has ventured to look the latter events of Ireland in the face, or to give to those who nobly dared, or nobly died, their meed of praise and honour."

In the autumn of 1835, Mr. Sampson's health, which had been feeble for some time, began altogether to fail. His feet swelled, and other symptoms of debility appeared. From this time till his death, he was watched over by his kind and excellent friend Dr. Macneven, and all that skill and friendship could suggest were tried to save him. The Doctor called in, at different times, Drs. Hosack, Francis, and Bushe; this was done to satisfy himself, for neither

Mr. Sampson nor his family felt a wish for other advice than his own.

The serenity and fortitude with which Mr. Sampson bore his last illness made a deep impression on all who saw him. His mind was unimpaired, and every trifling service was received with a grateful courtesy which touched the heart of all who heard him: his long confinement was cheered by the sympathy and attentions of many friends. His funeral may be called private, though many of the first citizens, his personal friends, attended. It was fixed at an early hour, that those who accompanied him to the burying ground of the Riker family, where Mr. Sampson wished to lie, might be able to return before dark. The funeral service was read by Dr. Henry Anthon, in St. John's church, and the hearse, with some particular friends in mourning coaches, proceeded to Long Island. A tomb of white marble has been erected over his remains, with the following inscription:—

"Beneath this stone lie the mortal remains of
WILLIAM SAMPSON,
Born in Londonderry, Ireland, January 27, 1764,
Died in New York, December 28, 1836.
An United Irishman, he defended the cause of
Civil and Religious Liberty;
His countrymen requited his services by their love;
His enemies attested his wisdom,
And atoned for their persecutions,
By adopting his measures.
The cheerful temper and invincible mind
That supported him in the dungeons of the inquisition,

Sustained him during his long exile,
And through his last most painful illness,
And shed an affecting serenity
Round his departing spirit.

He was resigned to the will, and trusted
In the mercy of his God.
This stone is erected, and inscribed to his memory,
An affectionate wife and only daughter.

Since the death of her husband, Mrs. Samp with Mrs. Tone and her daughter, continue to re in New York; Mrs. Tone and her child making annual visit to Mrs. Wilson, (the widow of Theol Wolfe Tone,) who resides in Georgetown, distric Columbia.

We shall conclude with the following notice Mr. Sampson, written immediately after his death his friend and partner in patriotic exile Dr. M neven. It was published in the New York *T Teller*, January 27, 1837:—

"The death of William Sampson, Esq., certai deserves more than a passing notice, and at our ha especially, from a circumstance connected with latter part of his life, in which we are concern It appears that amongst the papers and works in library was found, shortly after his decease, a pack addressed to us. On Wednesday last we receive through one of Mr. Sampson's relatives, precisely the condition in which it was first intended to h reached us. It contained a copy of the Lon edition of Mr. Sampson's Memoirs, and a note fr him in the following words:—

"'W. Sampson's respects to Mr. Denman. As Mr. D. a long time ago, on the republication of the Memoir (herewith presented) in London, proposed to notice it, but much time elapsed before it made its way to this country, and intervening circumstances seemed to lessen its interest as a record of other scenes and other times, it was forgotten on all sides; at this crisis, when the same policy is about to be adopted, and the same bloody and alarming transactions to be renewed, Mr. S. has thought that recurrence might be advantageously, and perhaps profitably, had to the faithful monuments which this brief narrative contains, as well as to others in the possession of Mr. Sampson.

"'*March 2nd*, 1835.'

"There is sufficient in this brief epistle to show that the writer's love for his native land remained vigorous and undiminished to the last; that his interest in its political prospects suffered no decrease; and that the patriotic feelings which induced him to enter the field in early life, as the advocate and defender of his persecuted countrymen, never became weak or ineffectual. We may truly say, that he retained his most amiable and distinguished characteristics to his latest hour.

"Mr. Sampson was a native of Derry, a city in which ultra-Protestantism possessed extensive influence, and being himself a Protestant, it would not have been very extraordinary if he had become tinged with the prejudices that pervaded and polluted the air he breathed in his native place; but nature had

gifted him with a heart and mind destined
nobler and more amiable purpose, than the adv
of injustice, or of unrelenting religious persecu
Being called to the Irish bar, and that, too,
period when humble abilities must have passed al
unnoticed, he united with many other distingui
individuals in sustaining the popular and patr
cause. His firmness as a genuine Irishman
frequently tested by persecutions of a severe na
and, at length, being driven into exile, he
to this country, and here resumed the pra
of the law. His *Memoirs*, from his own pen,
work sufficiently proving his merit as a writer,
will interest, please, and instruct, all who perus
and at the same time make them acquainted wit
the incidents of his life, from the gloomy perio
1798 to the time when he attained an elev
position at the American bar.

"We regret exceedingly that our numerous d
this week prevent us from alluding more in d
to the particulars of Mr. Sampson's really even
and very honourable life. We console ourse
however, in the belief that most of our readers
familiar with his history, and know how to re
and cherish his memory. Most of them know,
that his amiable qualities were numerous; that
who knew, also admired and esteemed him; tha
was a lawyer of erudition, sagacity, and ingen
of humour, peculiarly Irish, and therefore unusu
racy; that as a literary man he was well inform
and possessed a delicate, judicious, and discrimina
taste; and that in the social circle his presence

the occasion of rational, vivifying, and useful amusement, the result of his bland and insinuating manners, his genius, and amiable disposition, and the numerous accomplishments which he possessed. In all relations of life he won himself honour and esteem, and none are heard to speak of him but with feelings of respect. In late years, his habits were so retired, and his occupations so domestic, that his name seldom came before the public, and his society was only enjoyed by a small circle of intimate friends; but it was known to all that nothing but the inevitable requirements of advancing age and feeble health could prevent him from shining in public as well as private life; and this reflection was even sufficient to preserve unimpaired the recollection of his performances when years few in number, and robust health, made him a most popular, honoured, and valuable citizen.

"We rejoice that his little volume, with the accompanying note, reached us as he designed. We shall preserve them most carefully as mementos of a gentleman whom we ever esteemed most highly, and of an Irish patriot whose name will be probably more familiar to a future than even to the present age."

Before closing this biographical sketch, we may be permitted to say a word or two on the republication of Mr. Sampson's Memoirs in this country. It is much to be regretted that the English editor was unable to procure Mr. Sampson's personal recollections of the reign of terror in Ireland, or a copy of the documents furnished to Lord Moira, but more especially Bird's authenticated confessions. We have communicated with that gentleman, and find that he

expected to have been aided by Mr. Sampson
self in recovering this information, as he had
led to believe that there was a chance of his b
permitted to revisit Great Britain. The clue
lost when Mr. Sampson abandoned all idea of ret
ing, even for a short period, to Europe. But we s
what may be of some interest to our readers on
sides of the Atlantic, that several members of
liament were so affected by the perusal of Mr. Sa
son's Memoirs that they intended to move for a
versal of the Irish Act of Attainder, when circ
stances interposed to prevent their intention b
then carried into effect. But though there are fe
any, left alive who would profit by the reversal of a
which contains an acknowledged falsehood in its
preamble, we hold that such a measure is due to
behests of eternal justice. England owes it to
own character publicly to ratify the sentence w
the civilized world has pronounced on the policy
has rendered Ireland an object of sympathy to all
can feel for outraged humanity, the subject of ne
ending perplexity to all British statesmen, and a
creasing source of danger instead of strength to
empire. Could our voice be heard, we should sa
the present generation of legislators, you will
evidence the sincerity of your promises for the fu
by the solemnity of your protest against the d
quencies of the past. Nothing but such a pr
can acquit you completely of responsibility; a
that responsibility be still voluntarily maintained,
poet's prediction is too certain to be realized, "
licta majorum immeritus lues."

UNIV. OF MICH.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY JOY M'CRACKEN.

CHAPTER XVIII.

It has been already observed, that whatever records of the lives and histories of the United Irishmen have been rescued from oblivion, the preservation of them in most instances which have come to our knowledge had been owing to the fidelity of female friendship, or affection on the part of their surviving relatives, the sisters and daughters of the men who were engaged in the struggle of 1798, which neither time, nor obloquy, nor new ties and interests had estranged, nor had been able to extinguish. The name of Mary M'Cracken has become associated in the north with that of her beloved brother. The recollection of every act of his seems to have been stored up in her mind, as if she felt the charge of his reputation had been committed to her especial care.

In that attachment there are traits to be noticed indicative not only of singleness of heart, and benevolence of disposition; but of a noble spirit of heroism, strikingly displayed in the performance of

perilous duties, of services rendered at the haza life, at great pecuniary sacrifices, not only to dear brother, but at a later period to his fai friend, the unfortunate Thomas Russell. Pe to those who move in the busy haunts of life, become familiarized with the circumscribed and actions of worldly-minded people, the rar currence of qualities of another kind, which see realize the day-dreams of one's early years, an e lence of disposition devoid of all selfishness, de to all goodness, capable of all sacrifices, and con in all trials,—that shakes not in adversity, and bec insensible to fear where the safety of friends kindred is in question,—in one who seems t utterly unconscious of her own nobleness of n may appear worthy of admiration.

We are principally indebted to the sister of H Joy M'Cracken for the materials which enabl to give the following sketch of her brother's ance character, and life.

His grandfather's family was driven from Scot by persecution, on account of religion, at the Claverhouse was employed in hunting the Covena like wild beasts. The refugees settled at Hill-hall, Lisburn. Henry's father married a Miss Joy, w ancestors had fled from France, likewise on accou persecution for their religious tenets. Three of Joys originally came from France, about the s time; two of whom were brothers. One of the brot settled in the south, the other in the north. Fr

Joy, originally a conveyancer and notary-public, established the *Belfast Newsletter*, in consequence of a printer, who had been in his debt, having given up his establishment to him. He had two sons, Robert and Henry, by whom the paper was carried on after his death; and a daughter, Ann. Henry was father to Henry Joy, who went to the bar, and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Robert had a son, Henry, who wrote the *Belfast Politics*. Ann married John M'Cracken, who commanded, for many years, a vessel in the West India trade, and subsequently became the owner of that vessel. This John M'Cracken had four sons, Francis, William, Henry Joy, and John; and two daughters, Margaret and Mary Anne; of whom the last named is the only survivor.

Mr. John M'Cracken was a man of polished manners, whose suavity of disposition and integrity of principles caused him to be generally respected and esteemed. His wife was remarkable for an uniform cheerfulness of temper and benevolence of mind, that endeared her to young people as well as to the aged. Both entertained a deep feeling of the importance of religion, and they bowed to many severe dispensations of Divine Providence with a resigned spirit.

H. J. M'Cracken was born in Belfast the 31st of August, 1767.* In his character most of the excellent qualities of his parents were combined. In early childhood he was adventurous and enterprising, courageous, and possessed of great quickness of perception. The absence of selfishness and timidity, which

* The house in High-street, now occupied by Ogsden, a confectioner.

usually secures for a boy an influence over his companions, had made him a great favourite amongst them. In more advanced years, the simplicity of his character was strongly contrasted with the sterner qualities of courage and steadfastness of purpose. One who knew him well, describes him as a person who united in a degree seldom witnessed, tenderness of heart with intrepidity of spirit.

He displayed considerable ingenuity and dexterity in imitating and improving mechanical contrivances; and united a natural talent for mimicry with a delicate sense of what was due to the feelings of others. In ordinary conversation he was full of humour; and those who had only seen him in society would have imagined he was incapable of a serious thought; and yet when important matters called for his attention, his countenance indicated anything but levity. His height was five feet eleven inches; his appearance highly prepossessing; he was well formed, not very athletic, but of remarkable agility. On one or two occasions, when fires took place in the town, he was one of the foremost in the post of danger, and was sometimes left to occupy it alone. He was at first intended for the linen business, and with that view was taught to work at the loom, as was usual at that period; he was afterwards for some time placed in the counting-house of a general merchant, a relation, for improvement, and then put to the business of the cotton manufacture. The first introduction of cotton manufacture in Ireland has been ascribed to two or three different persons, and amongst these was his

uncle, Robert Joy. It had been established only a few years before, when young Henry M'Cracken was first employed in it. The original partners were, his two uncles, Thomas M'Cabe, and his father. M'Cabe in a short time withdrew from the partnership. Henry attended to the manufacturing department. He was about seventeen or eighteen years of age when he was put at this business. About 1789, he was sent to Scotland, to engage calico-printers and other mechanics for his employers.

On his return, it was decided that he was to live at the factory, close to the Falls, to superintend the works there. He was one of a few individuals, about this time, who undertook the establishment of the first Sunday school in Belfast, between fifty and sixty years ago; and it was held in the old market-house, the place of his execution.

About the beginning of 1795, there was a change in the partnership, when his father withdrew, and Henry returned home. In the summer of the same year, the 17th Dragoons committed great excesses in Belfast, attacked the houses of several persons, and wounded many individuals. On this occasion Henry took a very conspicuous part in opposing the marauders. He succeeded in capturing one of the assailants, and disarming him. The people, who had previously kept aloof, rushed forward and demanded to have the man given up to their fury, which he refused to do; but led him through the crowd and surrendered him to an officer. This affair was unaccountable; the chief object of the attack seemed to be the destruction of certain obnoxious sign-boards, and must have been

made with the knowledge of the chief magistr
A son of his, named Sheffy, a lad of weak intell
who had been at school with M'Cracken, callec
his father's house two days before the attack t
place, and spoke of it as a matter that had actu
happened. He was asked the meaning of what
spoke about; and he replied, that the signs of G
ral Doumourier and Dr. Franklin were taken dc
He was told they were not. He answered, if t
are not, then they soon will be. After this af
Henry went to reside for some time at Hollyw
where he enjoyed a great deal of the society of
friend Russell.

Russell was a passionate admirer of the beat
of nature, but his visits were not entirely, nor perl
chiefly for amusement.

The business of the Union was not neglecte
those meetings, and on some occasions several of t
associates used to meet at M'Cracken's of an ever
Some of those persons were great boasters, profe
to be most ardent patriots, talked violently, and a
wards acted cowardly. Henry, speaking of ther
one of his friends, said that he did not value n
the enthusiasm which men exhibited over the b
at night, that he only reckoned on what they
when they were "fresh and cool in the morni
On leaving Hollywood, he took a place for
mencing the calico printing on his own account,
Glenevey, and joined a young man in partner
who had served his time at the Falls, to assist in
ducting it, but he was so deeply engaged in poli
matters, that when he went from home his fa

did not know whether he was attending to his own business, or to that of the Society of United Irishmen; things of course went wrong, and all the money he embarked in this concern, in little more than a year was lost.

In the winter of 1790, his acquaintance with Russell had commenced. Their political sentiments were in unison, and in a short time their intercourse ripened into the closest friendship. Russell's position in society, and those personal qualities of his which seem to have been of a kind eminently qualified to make a favourable impression on those he came in contact with, gave weight to his opinions, and an influence to his principles, which soon established their ascendancy over the mind of M'Cracken. In the formation of the first Society of United Irishmen in 1791, Russell found in him a coadjutor, whose activity, intelligence, and integrity were perhaps more useful to the Society than the exertions of any other agent, so far as the successful exertion of considerable influence went, over the middle and the working classes. Though his name does not appear in the proceedings of that Society, or in the accounts which have been given of its early history, amongst those who stood prominently forward as leaders, or held important offices in it, from the commencement he was in the confidence of the executive committee; and in a preceding memoir we have seen that he acted with Neilson, Russell, and Tone in the establishment of the first club that was formed in Belfast.

In Societies of the kind with which M'Cracken was connected, the most active, the most useful, the least

selfish, and unswerving in their principles are not frequently those members who keep in the back grou in all public displays, being either distrustful of th own powers, or of the persons who are about the and neither thrust themselves into high plac nor thwart the measures of those who attain to the M'Cracken was contented to do the work of Society, and to leave its honours to those who sou them. He laboured late and early in its cause. was beloved by the people, and all his influence o them was directed to that end, which he believ whether erroneously or otherwise, to be for the co mon good. It has been already stated in a forn part of this work, that he took an active part in organization that went on in 1795 and 1796 in Do and Antrim.

In Belfast his activity was not less serviceable his cause, than his ingenuity in baffling the vari attempts made to corrupt the members and frustr the designs of the minor Societies. In these effo however, the means at the disposal of Mr. Pollo and the power of Lord Castlereagh, at length pro too strong for him.

"The Mudler's club," of Belfast, held at a pub house in "Sugar House Entry," was resorted t good deal by strangers on coming from the count and by townsmen of the middle class. "The rules the club," Hope says, "were set in a frame, and l on the chimney-piece every evening. Its ostensi business was jovial amusement, its real one, exte ing the connexion of the Society of United Irishm and it was visited by every man of known integr

who came on business to town; and if any of the members could not attend, it was always known where they were to be found in case of necessity. Its members were also expert in observing and frustrating the designs of the enemy. In this club many things were told in personal confidence, that could not be safely communicated to the Society; yet this secrecy was merely imaginary, for Hughes the informer was one of its earliest visitors. But, until Castlereagh got initiated by Jemmy Brees into the secrets of the Union, and thereby gained a knowledge of all its ramifications, there was no design of our opponents for which Henry Joy M'Cracken was not an overmatch. This club, on all important occasions, had the advantage also of the solid advice of Russell, and of Neilson's ability and activity."

The Mudler's club having been broken up in 1796 in consequence of the information of a girl named Bell Martin, belonging to the inn, the arrest of several of its most efficient members followed, but by M'Cracken's advice the club was revived under another name, and it continued to exist during his life. The landlady of this small public-house was called Peggy Barclay. The girl who attended on the frequenters of the house, named Bell Martin, became a person of some notoriety, under the auspices of a distinguished member of the aristocracy of the north.

Dr. Dickson, in his Narrative, gives some account of this woman's early career:—

"Some young men very respectably connected in Belfast, were to be tried on charges affecting their

lives.* The principal evidence on which their co viction was *hoped* and *feared*, was that of the no rious and celebrated BELL MARTIN. She h grown up almost from a child under my eye in Po aferry. Her family were very poor, partly from h mother's decrepitude and long confinement to be The respectable families of the town and neighbou hood were well disposed to assist them, and Bell w encouraged to call on them for milk, cold meat, a other little comforts. This she continued to do t she became nearly a woman; though latterly she w so addicted to lying and theft, that she was seldo admitted further than the hall, wherever she calle Unfortunately for her she grew up with a handsor face and good person; these exposed her to tempt tions, to resist which she proved deficient, either wisdom or in will. These circumstances had becor known in Belfast, where she had resided for a co siderable time, previous to her information against t young men alluded to. Hence, not only Mr. Jam M'Clavery, a respectable merchant in Portaferry, whose work her father had been long employed, a I, to whom the poor family had ever looked as guardian, but Lord Viscount Castlereagh and t Rev. John Cleland, who had for years lived in t neighbourhood, were summoned to appear at Carric fergus, in order to impeach her character. In cons quence we all did appear, and were detained the

* The principal one of them was Joseph Cuthbert, who was to tried the 20th April, 1797, charged with the murder of one L having been arrested on the information of Bell Martin, before L Carhampton.

during a whole week to no purpose. The lady, though kept under a military guard, contrived, or was permitted by connivance, to make her escape on the night previous to the intended trial, and there was no prosecution."*

The *Belfast Newsletter* states that "she rendered important services to Colonel Barber by giving information of soldiers of the Monaghan militia frequenting the meetings of the United Irishmen's Society, under the name of the Mudler's club, and being brought to the barracks she identified the men. Four of these men were subsequently tried and executed."† The services of Mr. John Newell were likewise instrumental to their conviction. The names of these men were William and Owen M'Kenna, Peter M'Carron, and Daniel Gillan. Several others of the same regiment were tried and convicted; but on confessing their guilt and imploring pardon, their sentence was commuted. The above-named men refused to make any similar confession, and they were shot at Blaris camp the 16th of May, 1797. The father of Owen M'Kenna was applied to, for his interference with his son, in order to induce him to make disclosures. His answer was, that "the life of a son was of great value to a father, but if his son was spared to become a traitor, he would shoot him with his own hand."

The story of these men has been made the subject of several songs and elegies, which are still current

* Dr. W. Steele Dickson's Narrative, page 194.

† Papers of James Hope in the hands of the author.

among the lower classes of the north. There must have been something to have made an impression in the manner they met their fate, when Lord Edward Fitzgerald spoke of it frequently in terms of admiration. From one of the rural elegies I have alluded to, the following stanza is quoted:—

> "I saw the aged father standing by
> Scorning by treason his son's life to save;
> For he could bear to see his darling die,
> But not to live a traitor or a slave."

In the spring of 1795, M'Cracken became a member of the newly modelled society of United Irishmen, which stepped from reform to separation, and adopted the use of a declaration on oath on the admission of members.

The certificate given by this society is printed on parchment, with the emblem in the right hand corner of a woman bending over the harp, with the following inscription:—

"*Tenth Society of United Irishmen of Belfast.*

"I hereby certify that Henry J. M'Cracken has been duly elected, and having taken the test provided in the constitution has been admitted a member of this society.

"H. M. HULL, *Secretary.*

"No. 3, *March 24th*, 1795."

The principal service in which M'Cracken had been employed was in exercising his influence over the defenders in getting them to consent to join the United Irishmen. The former were Catholics, the latter chiefly Presbyterians. The defenders were

at first opposed to Republican principles, their chief end and aim was, as their name implied, defence against their persecutors, who under the colour of zeal for the Protestant religion, promoted their own selfish interests by means of plunder and rapacity; the idea, however, seems never to have been wholly eradicated from the minds of the people who entered into these associations, that the descendants of James II. had not ceased to be entitled to their allegiance, and they seem to have had a vague notion that the French king represented the interests of the dethroned Stuarts. We are aware that Mr. Teeling, more competent than any man living to speak on this subject, thinks otherwise, and that the defenders had no views whatever of a French character. Nevertheless it is difficult to understand the allusions to French subjects, in their test and secret passwords, and cabalistic jargon, without supposing that some slight tincture of the old Jacobite principles of 1689 was still mixed up with their modern views and projects. The three gentlemen who held the chief command over the Down, Antrim, and Armagh Defenders, were Charles Teeling, his brother-in-law Magennis, and A. Lowry; Mr. Charles Teeling at that period not exceeding seventeen years of age. The authority of each in his absence was deputed to two delegates; and by one of these, about 1795, M'Cracken was appointed to a command. In 1798, he boasted of having a body of defenders amounting to 7,000 at his disposal. M'Cracken and Joseph Cuthbert rendered themselves extremely obnoxious to the Orangemen

in 1794 and 1795, by their active exertions in enabling the unfortunate people who were the victims of their outrages to seek legal redress for the wrongs they suffered.

In November, 1795, M'Cracken and Cuthbert gave a bond to Mr. James M'Gucken, the attorney, for the law expenses attendant on the proceedings instituted by their direction against the Armagh wreckers and a magistrate of the name of Grier. "The aforesaid Henry M'Cracken and Joseph Cuthbert binding themselves in the sum of 60*l.* to meet any expenses for Michael M'Clooskey, Paul Hannon, Barnard Coil, Patrick Hamill, and Sicilly Hamill, or for any other people against John Grier, Esq., a magistrate in and for the county of Armagh, or against any other magistrate whatever, &c."

Among the papers of M'Cracken there is a bill of costs of an attorney named Harford, dated January, 1796, amounting to 18*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, for services rendered in Armagh by the instructions of H. J. M'Cracken, to the unfortunate people whose houses were destroyed or plundered by the Orangemen. Two of the items are not devoid of interest.

"Mr. Grattan having found out I was concerned in this business, and wishing to know how far he would be justifiable in supporting the distressed Catholics in the county of Armagh, waiting upon Mr. Sampson and consulting with him whether I should go to Mr. Grattan and show him the affidavits." * * *

"Riding from my house, county Armagh, to Lurgan, where I staid from the 2nd January until

the 6th, during which time I was employed listening to the stories of many unfortunate people who had been robbed and destroyed by the Peep of Day Boys, but many of whom had not complaints to make of magistrates, I therefore did not take any written note of their sufferings." It appears by another item that Counsellor Joy guaranteed the payment of the law expenses.

CHAPTER XIX.

For some time previously to October, 17
M'Cracken was aware that the agents of Governm
had an eye on his movements; eventually he
arrested on the 10th October of that year, th
weeks after Russell, Neilson, &c., had been tak
His friend Mr. Richardson, who had interfered
the people in the Armagh persecution, and he w
arrested about the same time. He was sent to Dul
with a military escort, and during the journey
contrived to gain the confidence of some of
soldiers, and an intimation was made to him that
would be suffered to escape. Every body who
acquainted with him acknowledged that he posses
in an extraordinary degree, not only that kind
tact which gives an insight into peoples' charact
but that gentle suavity and frankness of man
which makes friends of ordinary acquaintances.
seems on this occasion as if he was only exerci
for his recreation the power he was conscious
possessing; for he did not take advantage of
offer that had been made to him. In the montl
April following, his brother, William M'Crack

was likewise arrested, and on his arrival in Dublin committed to Kilmainham.

On the 11th of October Henry was committed to Newgate, and after a short time was removed to the same prison where his brother was confined. He was kept at first on the felons' side of the prison, and placed in solitary, or at least separate confinement. The humanity of the gaoler, Weir, however, procured for him eventually every indulgence that could be desired, and he appears to have used the favour shewn to him, to render all the assistance it was in his power to afford his fellow prisoners.

Weir was at length removed, and replaced by one Richardson, who installed his nephew, John Dunn, in the office of assistant gaoler, and from that time the prisoners, with few exceptions, experienced harsh and cruel treatment. In a few instances, indeed, the turbulence of some of the young men among the prisoners appears to have provoked such treatment.

The northern prisoners in Kilmainham, after a long confinement, like passengers in a ship towards the end of a tedious voyage, began to grow weary of their confinement and of each other.

At the commencement of their imprisonment, there had been an understanding that no separate efforts should be made for liberation. The agreement was absurd and impracticable. Each prisoner had his particular circle of acquaintance, and some particular influence to exert even without his solicitation in his own behalf. Thus Neilson's friends made use of theirs for his liberation; and Counsellor Joy similarly ex-

erted himself for the M'Crackens. The knowledge, however, of some efforts having been made by Neilson's friends, without the concurrence of the other prisoners, was the occasion of a coolness between him and them, and ultimately of the complete estrangement of Neilson and Henry J. M'Cracken.

Perhaps both were in the wrong, but some allowance for the difference of circumstances should certainly have been made. The man, with a wife and five young children, whose property had been destroyed in the cause, and, what he valued more than property, the paper on which he prided himself so much, could not be accounted very culpable in availing himself of the efforts made to procure his liberation, even though there was a departure from the original agreement; which efforts perhaps his mediators were at first responsible for, and had they succeeded, the situation of those left behind could have been nothing the worse for it. The sisters of the M'Crackens were in Dublin in October, 1797, for the second time after their brother's arrest. Neilson's wife was there at the same time; their mutual endeavours were exerted to restore peace, and to soften asperities of temper, which the sufferings of all parties might well account for.

While this misunderstanding lasted, both parties vented their feelings of irritation, in prose and verse. The following lines were written under the influence of such feelings, by Neilson, previous to his removal to Kilmainham.

" *Written in Newgate, 16th Sept.*, 1797.

" The sable moon since I came here
Revolving hath fulfill'd her year:
A year's not long, 'tis true, to spend
At *liberty*, with many a friend:
But in these dreary walls enclosed,
Fretted at heart, and much abused;
Assail'd by ev'ry babbling tongue,
One year appears one hundred long.

" S. N."

FROM MISS M. M'CRACKEN, TO HER BROTHER, RESPECTING THE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE STATE PRISONERS IN KILMAINHAM, IN 1797.

" DEAR HARRY,

" Well knowing the candour and generosity of your heart, I am certain an explanation is as much wished for by you as by the person to whose peace of mind it is so very essential, and as you can never find him alone would it not be better to come to the point by writing than to wait for an opportunity which may not occur, and thus defer it until it is perhaps too late. Besides it would agitate and affect him less, and that in his present state of health should certainly be considered. Another reason why a written explanation should be proposed is, that it would be more decisive, and less liable to misrepresentation, as the words of a conversation may be forgotten, and others substituted in their place apparently similar, but not bearing exactly the same meaning, and that without the least ill-will or intention. As a simple relation of facts is all that is

necessary to restore harmony and affection, you whose motives, words, and actions will all bear the strictest investigation, need not shrink from the task. Ought men of superior sense and probity, who have long enjoyed mutual esteem and confidence, and who never for an instant suspected each other's integrity, suffer themselves to be disunited, and their affections estranged by the misrepresentations of fools or knaves, when it is so easy to come to a right understanding, by merely declaring the truth? If anything contrary to that was requisite, I would not urge you, for much as I regard his peace of mind, and much as I value his life, if both depended on it, I would be the last person in the world to wish you either to utter or to sign a falsehood—if that were necessary to restore him. Is it not the duty of every person to promote the happiness of others as much as lies in his power? and in the present case it is not merely the happiness of one or two individuals that is concerned, but in this case the links that connect men, and render the happiness of many in some measure dependent on that of each individual, is rather more extended than usual, and it is the ardent wish of all your mutual friends to see you again united and on the same footing of esteem and affection, if possible, as formerly. Is it not injurious to the cause of union when two men, who from the first went hand and hand endeavouring to promote it, are thus at variance? Would not such an example of disunion betwixt themselves, and that without any serious breach of friendship, afford a triumph to your enemies, and occasion vexation to your friends? Will

they not point at each of you as you pass: 'See there goes a promoter of Union, he could not agree with his bosom friend?' And certainly the situation of your families is deserving of some consideration; both have suffered much of late from a variety of causes, and ought you needlessly to add to their unhappiness? Not that your sufferings should induce you to do anything in itself wrong to alleviate them; but would you not feel most unhappy yourself to think you had at least embittered the last moments, perhaps shortened the days of a friend, when it was in your power to comfort and console him? You are above that little narrow pride so inconsistent with real dignity, of hesitating to make the first advance, or I am much mistaken in your mind. Sense and integrity are pearls of too great price to be cast aside for every failing, and, if you both examine yourselves, you will perhaps find that there are very few for whom you have so much esteem and affection as you have for each other. Consider, my dear Harry, how much is at stake; for while the envenomed dart rankles in his bosom the wound can never heal, and it is in your power and yours alone to extract it; I therefore entreat you will seriously reflect on the subject, and remember that an entire reconciliation between you is not only the earnest wish of all your friends, but must be that also of every friend to your cause.

"Your ever affectionate Sister,

"MARY ANN M'CRACKEN."

The above was written in Dublin, in October, 1797; the reconciliation afterwards took place.

The letters from Henry, during the period of his confinement, gave a full account of the scenes of wretchedness and wickedness that were familiar to the inmates of the Dublin prisons at that period. The greater part of those letters, however, were stolen from his sister, and from the few that were left in her possession of his and his brother William, or of others addressed to them, the following extracts are taken :—

FROM MR. HENRY JOY, (SUBSEQUENTLY BARON JOY) TO HENRY J. M'CRACKEN.

"DEAR HENRY,

"I arrived here late last night from Belfast, where I left all your family well—your sisters intend coming up in the course of this week to see you. Is there any thing you wish for that I can supply you with? Let me know if there is. Inform me how you are, that I may be able to assure your friends that you are tolerably recovered from your indisposition.

"Yours, &c.,

"*Dublin, Monday, 7th Nov.* "H. JOY."

HENRY JOY M'CRACKEN'S REPLY.

"DEAR HENRY,

"I am at present in excellent health, but most closely and indeed ignominiously confined, denied the use of pen, ink, or paper, (though obtained

by stealth,) or the conversation of any living creature, the keeper and turnkeys excepted, who find me every thing they wish for. I much fear the girls will be denied admittance.

"Yours truly,

"H. J. M'CRACKEN.

"*Two o'clock, Monday.*"

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS BROTHER JOHN.

"*December 13th*, 1796.

"On Sunday, T. Stewart said that he had been with Carhampton about getting Potts out of gaol on bail, and that he had applied for John Gordon, which will be complied with, if proper application is made. Carhampton has sworn neither Storey nor Cuthbert will get out, nor need any application be made for them. Miss Haslitt died this morning about twelve o'clock."

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Kilmainham, 10th January*, 1797.

"We continue to pass the time as pleasantly as you can imagine, considering that we think as little of the north as possible; for the comparison is nothing in favour of the capital, except Mr. Dixon and family, (who will always and in every place be remembered with veneration by us;) they are a set of gasconaders, and in every respect unlike northerns. I received a note from Henry Joy; the person you heard of having called on him was Bell Martin, who has sworn against those who were committed to Carrickfergus. Since that, I have been informed that

the two men who swore against T. Richardson and myself, have been sent on board a tender. I suppose, or rather I was confidently informed, that Government despaired of their evidence being worth any thing, as they had already perjured themselves, by deserting; and no county Antrim jury would listen to them.

"H. J. M'C."

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*K. Bastile, 8th April, '97, or*
"*1st day of 7th month of Captivity.*

"Although we are far more secluded from the world than we formerly were, yet we live every whit as well, if not better; nor are we now afraid of being seen together. All your letters I received, as we can still find ways and means to communicate with our friends. For all information I must refer you to John Hughes, who will leave this to-morrow, and has been with us every day since he came here. There is still a strong probability of our going to the north, but not for trial, only for show, and to be arraigned; as they could hardly arraign and try us at one assizes, as we must have a copy of our indictment four clear days before trial.

"H. J. M'C."

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Bastile, 24th April,* 1797.

"On Saturday nineteen prisoners arrived here from the north in good health and spirits. When they

arrived we were all locked up in our separate cells. Whilst I was looking out into the condemned yard, James Burnside, with several others, stepped into the yard, and told me who were the prisoners. Presently my door was opened by the gaoler, who brought in Mr. Kilburne and Dr. Crawford; at their backs stood a very long ugly officer, and *two great gentlemen.* The gaoler ordered me out, as those two prisoners were to have that room, where they have remained ever since, having every thing very comfortable, but very closely kept; however we send them, under the door, papers, &c., and get in sometimes, to chat a little with them. The other prisoners were divided into two lots; one lot has got possession of the ward where the Stag was kept; (he is gone to Down.) William H. Speers, Dr. Nixon, J. Grier, W. Kane, W. Templeton, A. Clarke, J. Haffey, and J. Kennedy, are amongst those with whom we have a constant communication, as they are not locked up. I expect, in a day or two, that William Speer and Nixon will be put over to us. J. Burnside, H. M'Manus, R. Neilson, D. Tolan, H. Kirkwood, J. Harrison, J. Barrett, and T. Jackson, *alias* Dry, are confined in another ward. I have fixed a string out of D. Shannaghan's room (where I now stay) to their ward, by which I send wine, &c., and whatever they want, across to them, J. Burnside being their agent. Hardly were they arrived, when T. Richardson came here from Newgate."

WM. M'C. TO HIS SISTERS.

"*Kilmainham, 29th April*, 1797.

"The day before yesterday we got an additional stool to sit on, which, with the one we had before, will allow six out of nine sitting at once: before, we could only allow three to sit at a time; and yesterday we got a very great comfort—a wooden bowl to wash in. My watch makes an excellent substitute for a looking-glass to shave myself at.

"WM. M'C."

FROM THE STATE PRISONERS TO THEIR FRIENDS.

"*Kilmainham, May 11th*, 1797.

"To all whom it may concern, these come greeting; informing the friends and relatives of the undersigned, that they are in good health and high spirits, although reduced in their finances much, being now closely confined under a new charge, and allowed only gaol allowance. For further particulars we refer you to our good friend the doctor, who has kindly taken charge of this.

"Signed—H. J. M'Cracken, Robert Neilson, J. Burnside, John and Alexander Gordon."

FROM H. J. M'C.

"On the evening of the 9th of June, 1797, Richardson, accompanied by a guard with drawn bayonets, and some person in coloured clothes, came into the room where we are at present confined: he began to abuse us in a most opprobrious manner, without the least provocation on our part; calling us scoun-

drels, villains, murderers, &c. After a great deal of such abuse, which we took little notice of, he observed we all wore green stocks, which, with many imprecations, he threatened to cut off our necks, swearing at the same time that he would also cut our throats, and actually attempted to put his threats into execution, by drawing a knife from his pocket [MS. defaced.] James Burnside, who was next ———, but was prevented by the people who were about ———. When he found he could not execute his threats, he left the room, swearing that he would bring Lord Carhampton, who would put his threats into execution before we would [the remainder not legible.]

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Kilmainham, 9th June*, 1797.

"You wish to know how we are situated. Six of us—Alexander Gordon, John Gordon, J. Burnside, Thomas Dry, Robert Neilson, and I, are confined in one of the infirmaries, (the women's) without being permitted the use of a yard, and receive no other support than gaol allowance, except what we furnish ourselves with. We contrive to live very comfortably. Cooking day about—some of us are very good at it, and others very middling. The day before yesterday, we saw from our windows two militia-men conducted to the park by all the military in this neighbourhood, and there shot for being United Irishmen. Last night the gaol was locked up by Antrim men, who were very much vexed at it: we knew them; they were the last recruits that came from Belfast. Since I came to this part of the house,

William got permission to come to see me for a very few minutes.

"J. M'C."

FROM W. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Kilmainham, 10th June*, 1797.

"We are threatened every night with irons and separate cells, but as yet we continue in the same situation: I think to-morrow or Monday will alter the scene, as Richardson is at this moment at the Castle, for the purpose of showing the necessity of putting shackles on us all; in consequence of our making much noise through the jail all last night by singing and shouting, 'All's well,' &c. I expect the noise will be doubled to-night, to show our aversion to the conduct of the gaoler, if he does not make some concession. Last night in putting us up, he went to the place where Harry is confined, and seeing the prisoners there with green stocks, he went to cut James Burnside's off, when A. Gordon interfered, and he made a stab at him with the knife; however, it ended there in that ward; but on his going to other wards, the prisoners resented his conduct to their friends. He put them into different cells the rest of the night, and did not even allow them to take their clothes with them, nor give them any straw, so that the rage that was shown through the whole gaol, the instant his conduct was known, by all the prisoners, can scarcely be conceived.

"Wm. M'C."

WM. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Kilmainham, 12th July*, 1797.

"At present there is very little prospect of our getting out, unless some underhand work that is going on may alter the appearance. I don't like to say anything without having knowledge of the subject, but some here are readier (than I am) to attach blame to these secret correspondences. I think all is intended for the best, and till I have reason, I will not think otherwise: I have too good an opinion of the men to allow me to take up a contrary opinion, though I must confess, there are prisoners here who might have been consulted, who were not. George James and Counsellor Joy, were here the other day, and little Robert Holmes: the Counsellor only got up to see me."

FROM H. J. M'C. TO HIS SISTER.

"*Kilmainham, 19th Nov.*, 1797.

"Yesterday, two men were executed in front of the gaol, for robbing the mail in June last: they died with the greatest fortitude. It gives me a sort of carelessness about death to see such sights. One of the unfortunate men, John Bynge, worked in Belfast with a Charles Davis, at the time I was taken up; he knew me very well, and lamented greatly that he was to die for a crime he was ashamed of, and not for the cause of his country. The morning of his execution, going past our window to execution, he turned round and saluted us with the greatest composure. You desire to know what effect the trials being put off will have

on the prisoners. It is impossible to say, or to account for any proceeding of Government, as they appear the most capricious set of mortals on the face of the earth, without either principle or wisdom: it is probable that they may be ashamed of confining men fourteen months for nothing. Mr. Sampson was here the other day; he and I had a conversation about matters here; he wished much to do every thing disagreeable away, but I doubt it is out of his power. At all times I have acted according to what I thought right, and hope I will do so, careless who I offend thereby."

FROM JOHN M'CRACKEN TO HIS BROTHER.

"*Belfast, 26th July*, 1797.

"DEAR HARRY,

"I am sorry to hear that your health has been worse than usual, and that some late occurrences have rendered your present situation rather more unpleasant than even confinement in a gaol ought to make it. However, I hope you will come to a right understanding again, and not afford a subject for rejoicing to your enemies. For this some time past I have been loitering my time at Moneymore, where an opportunity of writing to you was not to be found, and I had nothing to tell you of except the barbarities committed on the innocent country people by the yeomen and Orangemen. The practice among them is to hang a man up by the heels with a rope full of twist, by which means the sufferer whirls round like a bird roasting at the fire, during which he is lashed with belts, &c., to make him tell where he has concealed arms. Last week, at a place near Dungannon,

a young man being used in this manner called to his father for assistance, who being inflamed at the sight, struck one of the party a desperate blow with his turf spade; but, alas! his life paid the forfeit of his rashness: his entrails were torn out and exposed on a thorn bush.

This is one barbarity of the many which are daily practised about the county Tyrone and Armagh; however, the county Antrim is not so bad, but I believe is not much better. I suppose you have heard of an engagement between the Kerry militia and the orangemen at Stewartstown; but as I was at Moneymore when it happened, I can tell you what, from sundry accounts, I think nearest the truth.

The Kerry regiment being mostly Catholics, had of course a dislike to Orangemen; and the Stewartstown people being mostly Orange, were ready to pick a quarrel with them.

The militia were on their march from the neighbourhood of Colerain up the country, and on the 12th of July marched into S. Town, where being drawn up for the purpose of receiving billets, were crowded very much by a number of people wearing orange cockades. The sergeant with his halberd kept off the crowd, but perhaps in a rough manner. When the men were billeted, two fell to the share of one Park, a shopkeeper and old customer of our house, who would not receive them, nor even pay them; but would find them beds at a dry lodging, which the men did not object to, until they saw the beds were not fit for any animals but pigs to lie on. Of course they refused, and were for making good

their billets. A scuffle ensued, and Park snatched a bayonet from some yeoman, and stabbed one of the men, which brought on a partial engagement with stones, the arms having been taken from the militia by their officer. This continued a long time, when the light horse (under Captain Arsdall, the same who at Dungannon rode over the people at a funeral there) were called out on the Kerrymen, cut down two and took three prisoners, thus taking from the small party five men. The remainder then in the streets, amounting to about ten, made to a house their arms were in, and stood on the defensive, when they were attacked by the horse, the Scotch fencibles, and about 300 yeomen. They kept up a continual fire from the house, which killed three yeomen, two light-horsemen, one horse, one Scotch fencible, and wounded some more. Their ammunition being out, and an hundred English fencibles coming into the town, they threw their arms out of the house, and surrendered at discretion; but, horrid to tell, the yeomen butchered a number in cold blood, particularly Sergt. Mahonny was shot from a window of the market house, while taking up to the barrack. Another man, who had been in Mr. Teaker's house, where he was billeted, was hunted through the Diamond, and fell with thirty shots through him. Another of them, being billeted on one Smith, a yeoman, was comforting Smith's wife and children, as Smith was killed by a random shot. The poor militia man was in the act of giving money to the children when he was stabbed by the horseman. I am well assured that but two of the seven Kerry men died fairly. The

day after this, Lord Blaney, with a party of ninety heavy and twenty light horse, espied four of this regiment, but men who were not of the same party; they were sent forward to Dungannon for billets for the grenadier company, and had been in Moneymore at the time the affray happened in S. Town, and I myself saw them go through towards Cookstown. When they saw the horse they thought it best to take into a field and lie down for fear of being insulted by the horsemen; but Blaney spying them, ordered the horse to pursue, and although the sergeant told his business, and wished to show his written order, Blaney d——d them for rebels, and would not hear them, and immediately fell to at them sword in hand. The poor fellows made a gallant resistance, and fought their way through the whole horse, until, the ditch stopping them, two were killed, and the sergeant got into a house where he was saved by the women. The corporal got into a barn, and withstood the whole horsemen for an hour. At length he fell, covered with innumerable wounds, and Lieut. Col. Blaney, even after he was dead, cut his throat with his sword. Thus died ten of the gallant Kerry militia, lamented by every humane or honest man in the country.

Your affectionate brother,

"J. M'C, Junr."

CHAPTER XX.

After an imprisonment of fourteen months, Henry and his brother William were admitted to bail on the 8th of September, 1797, on the recognizance of Bernard Coile, for Henry, and of Counsellor Joy for his brother.

Henry's imprisonment had proved so injurious to his health, that on his return to Belfast he was incapable of attending to business. His friends were the less prepared for his illness, as no serious complaint of ill health had been made by him during his confinement. For some time his recovery was hardly expected by them.

But no sooner had he been sufficiently restored to go into society than his old associates again became his companions, and the position of their affairs made his services more necessary than ever to their cause. In the latter end of February, 1798, he was sent on the business of the Society to Dublin. He remained there for some time, and brought to Belfast the instructions of the Leinster Directory with regard to the projected rising. Immediately after the burning of the northern mail-coach, which was the signal for the outbreak, he told one of his family that he had recently commu-

nicated with a body of men, amounting to about 200, and their spokesman said (and they all assented to his speech), "they would much rather be in the field like men than be hunted like wild beasts, and see their friends carried off to gaol, their houses ransacked, the Orange yeomen riding roughshod over them day after day." About this time a daughter of his uncle, Henry Joy, called on him, and urged him very much to leave the town. He took her advice, and left town that evening. As he was passing through Hercules-street he was attacked by some armed yeomen; and James Hope states, that, had it not been for a butcher's wife, who came to his assistance with a huge knife, which she brandished in so spirited a manner that she forced them to retreat, they would have killed him on the spot. His Amazonian ally having thus put them to flight, took Henry into the house, and sent him away by a back entrance.

On the 21st of May, the day appointed by the Leinster Directory for the general rising, there was an evening promenade and music at the Belfast Exchange Rooms, which was attended by nearly all the military officers in town. A proposal was made to the executive that a party should be led to the Exchange, and that the officers should be seized and held as hostages. This proposal was rejected. *It was made by Henry Joy M'Cracken.*

The united Irish system originated in Ulster, and so long as the struggle was a war of words, the aristocratic leaders of that province were active, bold, and violent. For seven years the organization was

continually going on, and the end of all this organization was an ill-directed movement that was speedily defeated. To use the words of Teeling, "With an immense organized force, superior, in a military point of view, to all the other provinces combined, her efforts were the least efficient, and her arms the most promptly suppressed."*

The prominent position, however, of the Ulster leaders in the concoction of this conspiracy, had early drawn on them the notice of Government. The different northern counties were overrun with troops; the men, whose abilities and fidelity to this cause were most signal, were in prison; the mercantile leaders, who were appointed to places of trust in the directory, and to posts of danger in the military organization, were not forthcoming when their services were required. Some became doubtful of the issue, others had large debts outstanding, and were not inclined to act before these debts had been got in; many were connected by ties of property with the other portion of the commercial aristocracy, whose political views were opposed to theirs, and not a few, by their position in society, and the prevailing passion for festive entertainments, were in habits of close communication with the authorities, civil and military, who were then most active in their proceedings against these societies, and the subordinate leaders of them.

It was no uncommon thing in 1796 to meet Gen. Lake at the parties of the prime mover of the United

* Teeling's Personal Narrative, 205.

system, Mr. Wm. Sinclair, and at a later period, Col. Barber and Lieut. Gen. Nugent. There was a policy, it is said, in maintaining this kind of intercourse, as not a single movement of the troops, or an iota of information communicated by Government to Gen. Lake, but a sister of the Sinclairs, a young woman of considerable personal attractions and intelligence, was not able to obtain from the General, an officer more remarkable for his vanity and incapacity, than for any qualities or acquirements of another kind.

But while the weakness of this vain man was occasionally turned to the account of the United Irishmen, perhaps a similar advantage was taken of the imprudence of some member of the family of his host by some officer of the staff of Gen. Lake, and thus, so far from any advantage being gained from this kind of intercourse, it is not improbable that the other party were injured by it.

The same kind of intercourse was kept up between several other leading mercantile members of the United Irish Society, and the officers and functionaries already referred to. At one of these parties a Miss S—— called a gentleman aside in the ball-room and told him to notice the General and his staff wearing their swords, and the reason of their so doing she informed him had been just communicated to her, namely, that the General had received orders to act on the Government instructions to disarm the people of Ulster, and they were proceeding that night to make the first general search for arms in the houses of the suspected people of a neighbouring district in the county of Down.

The practice of seeking the society of one's political opponents for the avowed purpose of discovering their secrets, or of frustrating their designs, even where it does not afford a pretext to traitors for entering into communication with the enemies of their associates, is attended with consequences which, fortunately, gives no encouragement for its adoption. Society has its obligations as well as its amusements; but in troubled times the former are too frequently forgotten, and the privacy of social life is violated, with the view of promoting public objects, or under the specious garb of a solicitude for the welfare of a party or a cause. Whatever partial or temporary advantage may be gained by the acquisition of knowledge thus obtained, there is an abuse of confidence, or an unworthy use made of the unreservedness of private intercourse, which amounts to a petty treason against society itself.

The artifices that were put in practice, by the parties who had power on their side, to bring ruin on their opponents, were of a nature ill calculated to set any example of propriety or conscientious conduct to others.

The following communication at a later period was addressed to John Shaw, of Belfast, a woollen draper of that town. The letter was a fabrication; its object was evidently to delude the people into a belief of succour from the French, and thus to discover those who might be led to concur in such designs. This ingenious device was regarded as the work of persons in authority. Shaw had been one of the active men of the Northern United System, and

being connected with the M'Crackens, the paper came into their hands.

"*Augereau lugger, off the Mull Cantir.*

"SIR,

"His Majesty the Emperor and King Bonaparte has commanded me to acquaint you with my arrival on the coast of Ireland; he does not lose any opportunity of reiterating his assurances of the unalterable devotion he has for the distressed inhabitants of Ireland, whose rights occupy His Majesty's most anxious thoughts. I have on board my lugger ten thousand stand of arms, which the Emperor trusts will be another proof of his desire to give liberty and freedom to your countrymen. You may daily expect the arrival of the army off Brest, who are already embarked, which our friends in the north have before been made acquainted with * * * (*the manuscript defaced*) * at the main top-mast head, which will be my signal, and you may then come off to me, and in a night when I let off one sky-rocket, be quick and acquaint your friends of Coleraine and Derry with the arrival of my vessel on the coast, and give them our private signals, as I may be driven by the winds as far as Lough Swilly. I will myself sometimes be in Red Bay and at others off Giant's Causeway. I shall be most anxious for the arrival on board my vessel of some of your guides. We have mostly your countrymen on board, and will answer you in Irish; the name of my lugger is *Augereau*, and we have been three weeks from Ferrol, where our friends Alexander Lowry and O'Connor

are embarked coming to your assistance. For fear of this falling into the hands of the enemy, I had better conclude and say no more till we meet; only once more let me entreat you may apprize our friends on the shore to exert themselves, and let the signal for a friend be taught to any person you may send" * * * (*manuscript defaced.*)

So much for fabrication of documents, for the purpose of misleading the people. The following epistle is *a fair specimen*, (and the phrase is used with the fullest consideration of its import,) of the sort of intelligence communicated to the superior authorities in 1798, by men in the commission of the peace and holding high offices, for the purpose of poisoning the very source of justice; and of deceiving a Government that took extraordinary pains, and incurred extravagant expense to bring itself into disrepute, and the subjects of its sovereign under suspicion.

The following communication was addressed by a British officer, holding the commission of the peace, and commanding a large district in the North under the orders of General Nugent, in 1798. The letter fell into the hands of a magistrate of the County Down, Mr. F. D., and was communicated by him to the late John Lawless. It is only necessary to state, that the gentlemen denounced were men of the first respectability, of loyal principles, and unblemished character.

COLONEL ATHERTON'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COMMANDING THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

"*Newtownards, 20th June*, 1798, *half-past eleven.*

"DEAR SIR,

"I have had tolerable success to-day in apprehending the persons mentioned in the memorandum.—The list is as follows.—[Here follows a List containing twenty-seven Names.]

"We have burned Johnston's house at Crawford's-Bourn-Mills—at Bangor, destroyed the furniture of Pat. Agnew; James Francis, and Gibbison, and Campbell's *not finished yet*—at Ballyholme, burned the house of Johnston—at the Demesnes, near Bangor, the houses of Jas. Richardson and John Scott—at Ballymaconnell-Mills, burned the house of M'Connell, miller, and James Martin, *a Capt. and a friend of M'Cullock's*, hanged at Ballynahinch.

"Groomsport, reserved.

"Cotton, the same.

"We have also the following prisoners, on the information of different people.—[Here follows a List, containing five Names.]

"We hope you will think we have done *tolerably* well. To-morrow we go to Portaferry, or rather to its neighbourhood. Ought we not to punish the gentlemen of the country, who have never assisted the well-disposed people, yeomanry, &c.? For my own part, a gentleman of any kind, but more particularly *a magistrate*, who deserts his post at such a period, ought to be ——— I will not say what.

"Mr. Ecclin, of Ecclinville.

"Rev. Hutcheson, Donaghadee.

"Mr. Arbuckle, Collector of Donaghadee—an official man.

"Mr. Ker, Portavo.

"Mr. Ward, of Bangor, is now, and only now, to be found.

"List of inactive Magistrates, or rather friends of the United Irishmen:—

"Sir John Blackwood.

"John Crawford, of Crawford's-Burn.

"John Kennedy, Cultra, &c.

But, among others, Rev. Hu. Montgomery, of Rosemount, who is no friend to Government, or to its measures, and whom I strongly suspect. I have got his bailiff. Believe me, dear Sir,

"With the greatest respect and esteem,

"Your most faithful servant,

"Q. ATHERTON.

"I am apt to suspect you are misinformed about Smith, the Innkeeper, of Donaghadee. The newspaper account is entirely false. The fellow's fled. I will endeavour to know more about him. I wish for no *Lawyers* here, except as my *Clerks*."

So much for the notion that was formed in Ireland of the duties of a justice of the peace.

We find by the examination of T. A. Emmet, that in the completion of the military organization, "it was thought necessary (by the executive) to have an adjutant general in each county," and further, that "the colonels of each county returned the names of three persons to the executive, who appointed one of them to act as adjutant-general of the county." Thomas

Russell was appointed by the Colonels of Down, in 1796; his arrest in the winter of that year occasioned the appointment of another adjutant-general, and the Rev. Dr. Steele Dickson was then appointed. Dr. Dickson, in his narrative, has taken a vast deal of trouble to disprove the statements of Maginn and Hughes, with respect to the military appointment conferred upon him, but he takes care to avoid any explicit denial of the fact. The attempt, however, to encumber the statement of it with reasonings on its improbability, and arguments against its credibility was an unworthy effort at deception, where there was no plea of necessity arising from legal proceedings for the endeavour to disprove a statement which could not be denied with truth.

The late Mr. John Gunning, one of the Colonels of the United system in 1798, (then Mr. Byers,) informed us that on Dickson's arrest, Mr. George Sinclair, who had formerly served in the army, was appointed adjutant-general of the County Down, and that Government through some channel (he named Maginn) was in possession of all their proceedings and appointments from 1796. Dickson was arrested on the 4th of June, 1798, three days before the time appointed for the outbreak of the Ulster insurrection. The adjutant-general of Antrim was a gentleman who is still living, one of the first and most active promoters of the Society of the United Irishmen. About the end of May, several of the Down Colonels having come to a resolution in favour of a rising, provided those of Antrim and the other northern counties were determined to act, the Antrim Colonels pressed

their adjutant-general to take the field at a meeting of the latter, about the 1st or 2nd of June. The adjutant-general opposed this determination and resigned his appointment.

It was then determined to name another, and two persons being proposed, either of whom was to be offered the appointment, it happened that neither of them received the intimation in due time, and eventually Henry Joy M'Cracken was nominated not only adjutant-general, but, in consequence of Dixon's arrest, and the confusion in which the societies were involved in the other counties of Ulster, commander-in-chief of the United Irish army of the north. This appointment took place within three or four days of the outbreak, and the intelligence and energy of character displayed in the plans formed by M'Cracken for simultaneous movements in the different parts of Down and Antrim, show what might have been expected from him, had the command been given to him at a time when the affairs of the Union afforded any reasonable expectation of success.

The probability of success or failure in such an enterprise as M'Cracken was engaged in, is a consideration of such awful importance, that to come to a conclusion on it without weighing all the difficulties that might be encountered—all the obstacles that had to be surmounted—all the evils that must result from failure—all the doubt that might be entertained of the absolute necessity for the attempt, would be an act of folly or of wickedness which could only be surpassed by the imbecility or turpitude of suffering popular commotion to ferment, for the purpose of

allowing its outburst to prove destructive to its agents, or goading it to madness, with the view of causing its violence to come to "a premature explosion." In the former case, it is the unhappy consequence of oppression and of public discontent, that when men are involved in the turmoil of the time, they are called upon to decide upon a question of the greatest moment, when their minds are most unfitted for the calm exercise of judgment, and their feelings and their passions are no less urgently appealed to than their reason.

In the south of Ireland, the rebellion of 1798 is designated by a term sufficiently indicative of the confusion attendant on an insurrection. The people call it "the hurry." They speak of events as having happened before or after "the hurry." If those who once embark on the troubled waters of public strife, think they are in a situation which admits of determining with certainty how far their voyage may extend, or what direction it may eventually take, they greatly exaggerate the extent of their own influence, and underrate the power of the elements which surround them. The great and terrible apprehension which ought to be present to one's mind, when called on to determine on a question which involves, in its consequences, the welfare or the ruin of a vast number of people, is the frailty of human nature, and the fear that, in its weakness, self-consideration should countervail the solicitude that is felt for the people's weal.

The man who "seeks the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth," and he who is ready to serve his country at the hazard of his life, may fight under the

same banner, but not for the same object. If reputation set up its claims at the moment that those of country are put forth, the decision may not be without danger to the latter. These observations are not meant to apply to one leader or another, and perhaps least of all to the person whose career is the subject of this memoir. They arise from a general impression —the result of the researches we have been engaged in—that in the time of which we treat, the evils of war were not sufficiently reflected on and feared, neither by the rulers of the country nor the ruled. Both, it is to be hoped, have become wiser in this respect; but they have paid dearly for the experience which should make them so.

With respect to the question of the probability of success or failure of the northern "rising," it cannot well be doubted, that had the northern executive not concealed from the subordinate leaders the intelligence which they received from the Dublin executive, of the arrangement determined on for a general and simultaneous rising on the 21st of May, 1798;—had that plan, so far as it regarded the north, not been thus frustrated—had the adjutant-general appointed in Dixon's place, not resigned his appointment when the moment came for action;—from some quarter or another, either from a member of the executive, or from some of the colonels of the county Down, had not General Nugent received information of M'Cracken's plan of attack on Antrim; in one word, if it had not been for perfidy, M'Cracken's plan of simultaneous attacks on Antrim, Randalstown, Ballynahinch, Saintfield, Newtown-

ards, and Portaferry, would have succeeded, the counties Antrim and Down would have fallen into the hands of the United Irishmen.

The town of Antrim, about twelve miles distant from Belfast, though unfit for defensive warfare, was a place of great importance to the insurgents, affording the means of keeping up a communication between the counties of Down and Antrim, and those of Tyrone and Donegal.

M'Cracken quickly perceived the importance of this position, and the necessity of simultaneous risings in the adjoining counties. The force he counted on being able to bring into the field in Antrim, amounted, by the reports furnished to him immediately after his appointment to the chief command, to 21,000, 7000 of which numbers were defenders. That his plans were not ill-conceived, may be inferred from the fact of the several risings taking place within a few days of each other. That of Antrim on the 7th; of Randalstown on the same day; of Saintfield on the 9th; and Ballynahinch on the 13th of June. At Antrim, it is admitted by his opponents, the rebel force was brought into the town with the greatest order. A hasty proclamation on the day preceding the attack was addressed by him to "The Army of Ulster:"—

"To-morrow we march on Antrim—drive the garrison of Randalstown before you, and haste to form a junction with the commander-in-chief.

"HENRY JOY M'CRACKEN.

"*The First Year of Liberty, 6th June*, 1798."

The turmoil of an insurrectionary movement is not calculated for the exercise of taste or judgment for similar compositions; but on the arrival of his force on the eminence above the town of Antrim, when he halted his men, and addressed them in a few spirit-stirring words of encouragement and counsel, he was not wanting to himself or to his cause in energy of language befitting the occasion. The effect of his address was visible in the deportment of the people, as with firm and measured tread they marched in perfect order into the town in three divisions:—the musketeers in front, the pikemen in the centre, and a small body of men, with two small field pieces in the rear.

The advanced guard, Hope states, marched eighteen men abreast; their total force did not exceed 500 men, the far greater number of whom were Killead men.

Sir Richard Musgrave states that General Nugent on receiving intelligence of the intentions of the rebels, "sent orders to Blaris Camp for the second light battalion, consisting of the 64th regiment and the light companies of the Kerry, Dublin, Tipperary, Armagh, and Monaghan militia, and 150 of the 22nd light dragoons, with two cannon (six pounders,) and two five and a half inch howitzers, to march to Antrim with all possible despatch; 250 of the Monaghan militia, a troop of the second light dragoons, and the Belfast cavalry under the command of Colonel Durham, to march to Antrim by Carmony and Templepatrick, the light battalion from Blaris commanded by Colonel Clavering, and the dragoons by Colonel Lumley. He also dispatched

orderly sergeants to Major Seddon at Antrim, to inform him of the intended attack and of the reinforcements which were going to his assistance."

At 9 o'clock in the morning, the orderlies had arrived at Antrim, but did not perceive any indication of disturbance. The drum beat to arms and the yeomanry in the town immediately assembled. The plan of the insurgents was to advance with four columns, one by the Belfast road, the second by the Carrickfergus road, a third by Patty's land, and a fourth by Bow-lane. But the plan was not carried into execution. Musgrave states that their advanced guard "was composed of about eight hundred musqueteers." Their whole force "about four thousand strong." Of which number they left "one hundred dead in the town, and nearly two hundred were killed in the pursuit." In both the preceding accounts there is the usual gross exaggeration both of the number of the rebels in action and of the slain. Hope's estimate of the former does not amount to the number at which Musgrave estimates the body of musqueteers. But the relative proportion of the number killed in action to the number slain in pursuit, when the action was over, two to one according to Musgrave's statement, is in sad accordance with the result of almost every engagement which took place, in which the rebels were defeated. Musgrave has not thought proper to inform his readers what was the loss of the king's troops, during the action, which commenced at a quarter before three, and according to his account

ended at four, when the reinforcements arrived, and their appearance put the rebels to flight. The loss was too considerable to be told.

The attack on Lord O'Neil is represented by Musgrave to have taken place as his Lordship was spurring forward his horse. Hope's account is different: one thing is certain, the yeomanry had abandoned his Lordship to his fate, in their extreme eagerness for their own preservation; they were in the act of flying, or had already fled when he was attacked.

Musgrave says, "he shot one of the men who attacked him, and the yeomanry two more, but the man who had given him the mortal wound escaped." It is a melancholy reflection that in the madness of the times two of the noblemen of Ireland, the most deservedly beloved, the most humane and tolerant in their principles, Lords O'Neil and Kilwarden, should have fallen by the people's hands, though it is more than doubtful if in the case of either, the assailants knew the person they attacked.

M'Cracken's conduct in the engagement mainly contributed to the success of the first attack. In an hour after his entering he was master of the town; a fatal mistake, however, of a party then on their march to Antrim, changed the fortune of the day, but not before a desperate effort was made to retrieve it, by James Hope, one who has survived that struggle, and has given an account of every exhibition of valour that was made that day, except of his own.

"Our division," says Teeling, "still maintained its position, which, from its determined and heroic courage, M'Cracken had designated 'The Spartan Band.' This was commanded by the faithful Hope, a man whose talents were far above his fortunes, and whose fidelity, as well on this occasion as in subsequent calamities of his country, would have honoured the days of ancient chivalry. On this post, a vigorous attack had been made, with the view of effecting a lodgment, which would have commanded an easy entrance to the town. It was assailed and defended with the most obstinate courage, but the assailants were forced to retire. A small detachment of cavalry which had debouched to the left advanced at full gallop, conceiving it to be in possession of the division of which they formed a part. Their alarm was equal to their surprise on finding themselves surrounded; they conceived their destruction inevitable, and awaited their fate in silence; but the generosity of Hope triumphed over every feeling of hostility or revenge. 'Go,' said he, 'your numbers are too few for the sacrifice; join your comrades, and tell them that the army of the Union feels no triumph in the destruction of the defenceless and the weak.' But the fate of the day had been already decided; every effort to rally on the part of M'Cracken was ineffectual; the panic from partial became general, and rout followed.

"The brave division of Hope was now obliged to abandon that post which they had so nobly maintained. They made a last effort to uphold the honour of the day: they marched with boldness, and in the

face of a victorious enemy they halted. They presented a bold front; they sustained the fire of musketry and cannon, and retired with a reluctant step when resistance was vain and the last hope of victory had fled. They effected a retreat with order, and planted the tattered ensign of their valour on the heights of Donegore. Here M'Cracken collected such of his scattered forces as had escaped the perils of the day or retained firmness for another trial of arms.

"Ballymena, a town of some importance a few miles to the north, was in the possession of the people, and a junction with these was considered desirable as the only means of retrieving the loss which the recent disasters had occasioned. Thither, it was resolved, they should march; but it was a difficult task to hold men together after defeat, when privations hourly increased and the ardour of their spirit was broken. M'Cracken took post on the lofty Slemish with numbers not exceeding one hundred men. Here, encompassed by a force of 400 disciplined troops, he prepared to try the fortune of the field, when the British commander, Colonel Clavering, proposed terms of capitulation. These terms were full and perfect amnesty on delivering up four of their chiefs, for whom he personally offered a reward of £400. This proposal was spurned by the band of M'Cracken with proper feelings of indignation. They immediately proclaimed Clavering a rebel, an enemy to the union of Irishmen, and offered a reward of £400 for his capture, living or dead.

"Whether this *gallant* officer conceived it impru-

dent to attack men whom circumstances had rendered desperate, or whether, in consideration of the nature and extent of their position affording facilities for a protracted warfare, he was induced to adopt precautionary measures, he certainly did not exhibit a very bold or soldierly line of conduct. M'Cracken continued to occupy the heights, and when no prospect appeared of forcing him from his position, Clavering threatened to fire the surrounding country in retaliation for the obstinate resistance of a handful of brave and determined men. M'Cracken yielded to the feelings of humanity what the force of his enemy could not have obtained, and he withdrew from the heights his little band, considerably reduced from fatigue and the privations of a mountain campaign. He indulged for a time the hope of penetrating to Wicklow or Kildare, but finding the measure impracticable, he recommended his followers to provide for their personal safety. With seven attached friends he proceeded to the lesser Collin, and baffled by a masterly manœuvre the vigilance of a corps that hung on his retreat, but was unable to impede his march. This manœuvre, though simple, evinced the military talent of the leader, and impressed the enemy with the idea that his numbers were more formidable. Favoured by the nature of the ground, they appeared at intervals on different heights, exhibiting at one time the hurried march of men stripped to their shirts, while the clothes of which they had disencumbered themselves being affixed to poles, presented to the enemy in another direction the appearance of an additional force; these were again as

quickly removed; and the rapidity of the change, and the velocity of his movements were successful in distracting the enemy's attention, who fearing to press too closely on him, remained at a secure distance, while he carried off his little band in safety in the presence of a yeomanry force of fifty men. But the hour of his destiny was at hand.*"

The same humble individual, who in every desperate crisis was looked to by the leaders for assistance, was called on by M'Cracken, and was followed by him in his march on Antrim, and in his flight after defeat, with his usual fidelity to those who trusted in him. The account of this movement, from the time of M'Cracken's appointment to the period of his defeat at Antrim and his arrest, which follows, was drawn up by James Hope, the person above referred to, and presented to us with the intimation that "he wanted no publicity for any acts of his, nor did he wish for any concealment of his sentiments; he never was an advocate for the secrecy of opinion, and saw no reason to withhold his name from any thing he had written or yet might write."

* Teeling's Personal Narrative, p. 232.

CHAPTER XXI.

JAMES HOPE'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF ANTRIM.

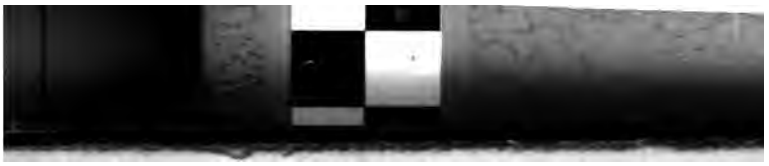
"FROM the time that the French appeared at Bantry Bay, the societies greatly increased, but we soon found that what we gained in numbers we lost in worth. Our enemies propagated rumours varying in their tendencies, by which the public mind at one time was raised to the highest pitch of expectation, and at another sunk to the lowest depression. The cruelties practised on the people, sanctioned by the Indemnity Act of the Irish Parliament, left life without security, and innocence without protection. This state of things rendered resistance inevitable. In the months of March and April, 1798, the people were in daily expectation of being called to the field by their leaders; an intention, as it appeared afterwards, which the leaders had little idea of putting in execution. The adjutant-general of Down, who could neither be intimidated nor corrupted, had been arrested; and the general of Antrim kept back the signal for a general movement, called a meeting of his colonels and resigned; by which means the whole province of Ulster, which expected the signal from Belfast, was completely disorganised.

" The influence of Henry Joy M'Cracken, especially with the Defenders, had caused many people to consider him as an eligible person for a command in a force in which it was desirable to combine them with the Presbyterians. The Defenders were directed by a committee, by whom their chief was chosen, who communicated with the United Irish Society by a deputy. The latter had to fly to America, and the duty assigned to him devolved on Henry Joy M'Cracken.

" On his appointment, he had an interview with the adjutant-general, and shortly afterwards I was directed to act as aid-de-camp to one of two persons named, when first called on by either of them. I delivered messages from the leaders I have spoken of to several persons, and was pressed to give their names, which I declined to do, telling them they would be forthcoming when wanted.

" On the news of a rising in the south reaching Belfast, I went to the adjutant-general, who said he would call the colonels, to give them their orders; and I went home satisfied that such would be the case, and recommended patience to all those I met with. This was on Saturday, and on the Tuesday following I received a message from the general. I went to him; he gave me a guinea, and directed me to go to a camp which he said was at Dunboyne, near Dublin; that he had ordered the colonels to meet him, and that I was to return with all haste with such information as I could learn, of the state of the south.

" I met Henry M'Cracken near Belfast, and he stopped me; and on learning my order, he said, you must not go, there is no camp at this side of Dublin;



there has been some fighting at a place called Clonee, near Dunboyne, but the men have marched for Tara, and are defeated and dispersed. He has concealed the signal, and must be watched: or the hope of a union with the south is lost. I answered, if he is a traitor or a coward, he will have me tried for disobeying his orders. M'Cracken replied, I will put you under arrest, and let him try me. Go home, until you hear from or see me. I obeyed; he went into town, and was attacked by some yeomen in Hercules-street. A woman, named Hamell, came to his assistance with a large knife; the yeomen fled, and he escaped into her house, got out of town that evening, and came over the mountains to me that night.

"Next day we learned that the colonels met, and that the general had resigned. We had no communication from the other chief of the Union, but Henry, as his deputy, watched the movements of the United colonels, and learned that, on receiving the resignation of their chief, they had dispersed in consequence of a false alarm, and adjourned from Parkgate to Templepatrick. They selected Munro, and a man named John Coulter (a linen merchant), as persons to whom the command was to be offered: the first met with, to be applied to, and the proposal made to him. The colonels were to meet on Sunday at Ballyeaston. They did meet; and Henry and I went to watch their movements, and learned that none of them had seen the gentlemen named for the appointment, and that the colonels had resolved not to fight. I learned afterwards that, of three of the

colonels who had written notices sent them by M'Cracken, one went in person, and the other two sent their notices to General Nugent.

"These orders were sent by the colonels who commanded the districts of Larne, Broughshane, and Lough-geel to General Nugent, which assisted him in his movements to disconcert M'Cracken's plans. The colonel of Broughshane sent his brother to General Nugent, and appeared himself among the people after the taking of Ballymenagh, and assisted in dispersing a body of men who had joined the Braed men in considerable force, on which the men of Kells and Connor fell back from Antrim, and still retaining their arms, took post in Kells, four miles in advance from Ballymenagh, to Belfast. The manner in which the plot was managed to get the Ballymenagh men to disperse, was this:—The Committee or Council, consisting chiefly of men of the forementioned colonels, gave out that they intended to march for Dublin, through the heart of the county Armagh; they sent home the Braed men and others who had fought in Ballymenagh, for necessaries for the march on Saturday evening. The town-guard of the people then consisted mostly of strangers, who, sending on the Sunday morning to the Council for orders, found the members of it had decamped. They immediately got into confusion, threw down their arms, and dispersed.

"When our general resigned, Henry Joy M'Cracken sent me with a letter to Dr. Dixon, who had been appointed to the command of Down. John Hughes, the then unknown informer, was the man

who knew where I would find him. It was early in the morning, and few houses were open. I met William Stewart, a coppersmith, in North-street; he went with me to Hughes; we were admitted, and sent up to a room adjoining that in which Hughes slept; he came out of his room half dressed, wringing his hands in apparent agitation, and exclaimed, 'It is all over! our leaders have sold us; the packing and removal of the plate of ——, is the signal for Nugent to commence hanging and flogging the people. There is but one way to stop their career of treachery, and that is to have them arrested; you have done much for the cause, but no service equal to that of lodging information against them.' I told them that whatever might take place, if this proposal was acted on, I would inform against the person by whom it was carried into effect. Hughes still continuing to express his fear and his determination, if taken, to give full information, I took a pistol from my breast, and pointing it at his breast, said, 'If you were not so near your wife and children, you would never speak these words again.' Stewart, who had sided with Hughes, now joined the latter in applauding my firmness, and both declared they were only trying me. I told them whoever would try the experiment on me again would have no time for explanation. They turned the matter into a laugh, and Hughes bade me go to a house in Church-lane, and Dixon would be there. I went, and waited some hours, but he did not come. I then went back to Hughes, and he sent me over the Long-bridge to Mr. Pottinger's; but he was not there. On returning to Hughes, he

told me to come into town next day but one, and bring a man and a horse with me; that he had some things that Harry would want, that would require a day for him to provide, and I went home. When I went to town on the day appointed, it was strongly guarded by the military at every entrance; it was easy to get in, but how to get out was another question. When I got to Hughes' in Bridge-street, they were preparing to flog men in High-street. Colonel Barber and some officers were walking in front of the Exchange; we could see them from Hughes' window up-stairs, and Hughes seemed greatly agitated. One of Hughes' clerks came up, and said they were flogging Kelso, and in a little while the servant girl ran into the room in haste, and said that Kelso was taken down, and was telling all that he knew. At this time we could see the military moving in small parties in different directions through the street in seeming haste, and Barber and the officers coming towards Bridge-street. Hughes exclaimed, 'They are coming here; what will become of my poor family?' 'What ails you, Hughes?' said I 'you need not be so frightened.' 'Oh! look here,' said he, taking me into another room, where he showed me a strong linen ticken bag with better than a stone weight of musket balls and some packages of gunpowder. 'I'll ease you of that,' said I, gathering them up and running down stairs. The clerk followed me to the hall door, and exclaimed, 'Hope, if Barber sees you, you will be hung at a lamp iron.' I gave him a benediction, and told him he and his master might hide, if they did not dare to walk the street, while the horsemen were

jostling me, and laughing as they passed. I went into a shop at the upper corner of Bridge-street, where I had left a sack, and put my bundles into it, and then went up North-street, and got a comrade named Charles Scott; we took the sack to a carman's yard, threw it down, and my comrade watched it at a distance, while I put some old things together—two swords, the colours which we afterwards fought under at Antrim, and a green jacket. Having packed them up into as small a compass as we could, we went forth and joined the Town Yeomen, and passing on with the soldiers, as if under their protection, we began to quicken our step unnoticed by the escort, and soon got out of their sight, and striking off the high road by Shankhill, we got safe to the mountains.

"The plan of the Antrim movement formed by Henry Joy M'Cracken was sent by express to the colonels of the county Antrim, each of whom was appointed to command five hundred men. The plan, in substance, was as follows.

"The different colonels, at the appointed time, are to attack any military post in their neighbourhood; or leave light parties to prevent communication, and march to Donegore-hill; while he, M'Cracken, with the men from the neighbourhood of Kilead, Templepatrick, Carmony, and Donegore, marched to Antrim to secure, if possible, the governor, deputy governor, and magistrates of the county Antrim, who were to meet in Antrim on the 7th of June; and to devise means for raising men to reinforce the army destined to effect a junction with the men in arms in the south. Some of the colonels sent these orders to

General Nugent, and we were betrayed at all points. We, however, marched to stop the rebellion of the Orangemen against the king's subjects, and not to promote their objects, as some writers would insinuate.

"Men at this time were daily driven from their homes, thousands from their country, some by compulsion, some by a kind of choice that was influenced by fear or famine, to be slaughtered on the Continent, or to fly from danger, and to beg their bread in foreign lands: while many persons, not the most unthinking or unsteady in their principles, seemed to be of opinion that it was a question not easily to be solved, whether resistance or submission would be attended with most injury to human life and happiness,—bearing in mind that the gagging bills had left no power to public opinion, no protection in a free press, no arena for a moral conflict with oppression.

"Some information appears to have been received of my intended journey to the south, to inquire about the Wexford men; for I learnt afterwards that a yeoman was stationed for three or four days at a place I would have had to pass, with instructions to shoot me. Some of my own party wanted to get rid of me.

"It was finally decided, when neither Munro nor Coulter could be found, that Henry Joy M'Cracken should be appointed to the chief military command. He wrote, on his appointment, to Steele Dixon, by one Duffy. The letter fell into the hands of Duffy's wife, and was burned by her.

"The South had been forced into resistance on the

21st of May preceding, but the North had been kept inactive until the beginning of June, by the men appointed to command; whether from prudence, cowardice, or concert with their opponents, is best known to themselves. M'Cracken, who was one of the first founders of the Union, and the only one who was not then in the power of the enemy, drew up and signed the fighting orders for the 7th of June, and sent them to the officers who had been appointed, and were expected to direct the movement of the people, but they declined to act.

"He set out at length on his march, with a force of trusty followers, which did not at first exceed one hundred men, but from the starting point, having five miles to march, they were augmented on the road by considerable numbers, who considered themselves more as a forlorn hope, than a force having any well-founded expectation of a successful issue.

"Having no organized staff to convey his orders, M'Cracken could only give advice, which at first was received with attention by the people. We marched into Antrim in good order, until our front arrived opposite the Presbyterian meeting-house, when a party of the 22nd Light Dragoons wheeled out of the lane below the church, fired on us, and then retreated. Another party then advanced from the same quarter, but was soon brought down, men and horse. The rest of their force fled to the market-house, and we advanced under a heavy fire from a body of foot, covered from our fire by the castle wall and two field-pieces, by a shot, from one of which, a gun we had brought from Templepatrick, placed on a

common car, was dismounted.* We then went into the churchyard, and silenced the field-pieces, and relieved our pikemen from the shower of grape-shot which they had stood without flinching. Part of our rear had been imprudently drawn up in a field, on the left of the church, and rendered useless during the action. Another party, which had appeared on our right on the Donegore-road, as we entered the town, was ordered to enter the other side of the town, by the back of the gardens. On the approach of this party, the horsemen at the market-house, in danger of being surrounded, and being then galled by our fire, made a charge at full speed up the street, some of the troops having previously fled by Shane Castle-road. The body that charged soon fell by our pikemen. At this time, the party stationed on the west side of the town entered by Bow-lane, but were checked by a destructive fire from the men behind the wall, and a volley from another party posted at a house in the lane by which they entered. They were forced to retreat at the moment that a body of five hundred men from Connor and Kells, who had taken Randelstown on their march to Antrim, came to our assistance, and on entering the town, mistook the flying horsemen for a body of the King's troops making a charge, and the retreat of the Bow-lane party for a complete rout. They became panic-struck, and instantly fled. M'Cracken immediately

* This gun was one of the pieces of artillery which had belonged to the volunteers, and had been hid in the meeting-house at Temple patrick.

led a party down through the gardens, to dislodge the enemy from their position behind the wall, in front of the demesne of Lord Massarene. This party, however, seeing the flight of the Connor and Kells men, followed their example; and two of them, crossing a pike-handle against M'Cracken's breast, threw him down, when attempting to stop them and their comrades. The Monaghan regiment, with Donegall's cavalry, now made their appearance on the road from Belfast, and took up a position at a little distance from the town, and placed two field-pieces on an eminence, the main body keeping behind the elevated ground, as if expecting an attack, while a party of the Donegall corps surrounded our men who were stationed in the field, between them and the town, and slaughtered them without mercy. We then formed in the street, and proceeded, with our colours flying, to the upper part of the street by which we had entered, and kept our ground there until the troops on the hill began to move; we then marched leisurely down the street, and went out by the back of the gardens, on the right hand side of the road, the enemy throwing some round shot at us, which we did not regard, and none of us fell. We retreated slowly to Donegore hill, where we expected to find a body of men in reserve, commanded by Samuel Orr, the brother of William Orr; but they had dispersed before our arrival. There was nothing more to be hoped or to be done; all went home, with the exception of a very small number, of which I was one. Next morning, the news of Lord O'Neil's death reached us. The account of that event I had from

some of the men who had advanced, and taken the guns near the market-house. When our men were approaching by Bow-lane, Lord O'Neil came out of a house beside the market-house, with a pistol in each hand, one of which he fired at a pikeman, and wounded him in the thigh, of which wound the man continued lame during life. The man turned round, and seeing the other pistol levelled at him, used his pike in defence of his life. He declared that Lord O'Neil might have entered the castle-gate without any molestation from him, had he only consulted his safety. I believe this to be true, though I was in the churchyard at the time it happened.*

"Had Lord O'Neil surrendered, the capture and treatment of Major Jackson and others, who did so, is a proof that he would have got quarter, for such was both the orders to, and inclination of, the people.

"The troops under his lordship had intrenched themselves in the houses in Bow-lane, to cover their retreat, if necessary, on Shane's Castle, while a light corps, appointed to meet the assailants, were directed to wear each a red thread round his hatband, by which to know each other.

"One of the old volunteers who had served under Lord O'Neil, belonging to the Klage company, named Andrew Lewars, whose son fell at his side in the action in Antrim, seeing his boy quite dead, took his pouch and belt, and putting it on over his own, fell into the ranks, and with the additional ammunition during the

* Lord O'Neil lingered till the 18th of June. He died at Lord Massarene's.

action, kept up a well-directed and steady fire. He escaped in the retreat, and I met him at Muccamoor ten years afterwards, evincing the same fearless spirit.

"Samuel Orr behaved like a coward at Antrim; his flight caused a party headed by M'Cracken, who were proceeding to dislodge a body of yeomen in Lord Massarene's demesne, to take to flight, when M'Cracken endeavoured to restrain them, but was thrown down and the panic became general; he then proceeded to Donegore hill, and did not enter the town again. His party diminished in the mountains from one hundred to twenty-eight; Colonel Clavering sent up a letter by a spy to say he would grant terms to all the people, provided they gave up their arms, and give a reward of 100*l.* a piece for each of the four following:—William Orr, Samuel Orr, and his brother John Orr, and Robert Johnstone. M'Cracken was not named. Samuel Orr surrendered, and got home. William Orr, still living, was transported; John Orr escaped to America, from Island Magee, along with Robert Orr, a chandler, who died there.

"Henry was already at Donegore hill, when we arrived, but on seeing the Kells men going home and our party dispersing in all directions, he and a few of his followers went further back into the mountains and joined some Belfast friends in the neighbourhood of Glenerry, but for want of some countrymen to learn the state of affairs, they could not ascertain whether any considerable numbers were brought together; but on hearing that the Kells men still remained in arms, they proceeded to Kells. Early on

the tenth, when the Kells men were breaking up in consequence of news from Ballymenagh, that the people who collected had been deserted by their leaders, they likewise dispersed. Henry M'Cracken then went to Slemish, with such as were loath to give up the struggle, and remained there until our number was reduced to twenty-eight; we then left that place and took post on the heights of Little Collin, where we heard the guns at Ballynahinch.

"On our march to the battle of Antrim, M'Cracken said, 'if we succeed to-day there will be sufficient praise lavished on us, if we fail we may expect proportionate blame. But whether we succeed or fail, let us try to deserve success.' Henry had no other design in making this attempt, than to try the last effort for effecting a junction with the men in arms in the south, and to gain that point he was quite willing to sacrifice his life.

"But the fact is, when persecution and ferocious bigotry were stalking abroad, had we come to a quiet understanding to join in small communities, for the protection of one another's life and liberty, by verbal agreement without any other obligation or design, many a valuable life would have been saved and perjury avoided.

"News having reached us, that the men from the lower part of the country were flocking into Ballymenagh, from the 7th of June,—I joined them in a few days, and was ordered by the commandant of the town, to open a communication with the Kells men. The town had been taken on the 7th by the neighbours, and they were receiving reinforcements every

hour; the commandant told us he had eleven thousand under his command, a thousand of which number had fire-arms, that he intended to march through the county Armagh into Louth for Dublin, and wished me to accompany the advanced guard, which he intended to be composed of the Kells men, to keep them from running home again. I obeyed his orders, and on the 9th we were ordered to Donegore Hill, but the men mutinied on the hill, and returned to Kells in the evening. We got billets and kept pickets on the roads all night. The picket on Ballymenagh-road took a prisoner, who told us, that the people of Ballymenagh had been dispersed by the desertion of their officers; we sent a messenger to that place, and found the account was true. Henry M'Cracken having joined us that morning, and seeing the Kells men dispersing also, advised such as were loth to go home, to go with him to Slemish, and keep a rallying point, or let such as durst go home, have time to hear if they would be safe. We went to Slemish, and found a spring at the south end of the hill, which we opened, and we remained there until Colonel Clavering came to Ballymenagh with four hundred men. He sent a message to us offering pardon, and one hundred guineas each, for four men supposed to be with us. We returned for answer, that the men at Slemish would not pardon him.

"We were then reduced to twenty-eight, and learning next day that a female visitor had reported our numbers and means of refreshment, to Clavering, we left the hill and marched in the direction of Belfast in open day, but stopped at Glenerry for the

night, and assembled on a hill called the Little Collin next morning. In the evening we heard the guns at Ballynahinch, and marched in the direction of them; on our way we disarmed a guard at Ballyclare, and frightened their leaders a good deal, but hurt none of them. We crossed the country to Devis mountain, and saw several houses on fire in the county of Down. On learning by a messenger we had sent to Dunmurry, that the people were dispersed at Ballynahinch, we retraced our steps, and took post on the Black Bohell; there we were informed from Belfast, that the Wexford men were on their march for the north. We were then reduced to eight men, including M'Cracken, who sent word to his friends in Belfast, that he intended to meet the Wexford men; for although the people were dispersed by treachery, their spirit remained unbroken, and men were calling to us to learn if there was any hope, for the burning of houses, and scouring of the country still continued. Two ladies at this time arrived from Belfast at the risk of their lives, with word that General Nugent was apprized of our intention.* M'Cracken then told us that he could make no farther use of our service, and after many words of kindness and of grief, he parted with us, and bid us think no more of following him. While we were looking sorrowfully after him, as he was going away to get some place of shelter for the ladies, it being then late in the evening, he called to me and another man, and said he had one more

* One of the ladies was Miss Mary M'Cracken, the sister of the fugitive leader.

request to make, that we should endeavour to ascertain what the Wexford men were doing, and return with the intelligence to him as speedily as possible; but before we could return he had heard of their defeat, and then crossing the commons of Carrickfergus for Larne, he was taken, and suffered death in Belfast on the testimony of James Beck and John Minis. Henry Joy M'Cracken was the most discerning and determined man of all our northen leaders, and by his exertion chiefly the Union of the societies of the north and south was maintained.

"His memory is still fresh in the hearts of those who knew him. Forty winters have passed over it, and the green has not gone from it.

"I had an opportunity of knowing many of our leaders, but none of those I was acquainted with resembled each other in their qualities and their principles, in the mildness of their manners, their attachment to their country, their forgetfulness of themselves, their remembrance of the merits of others, their steadiness of purpose, and their fearlessness, as did Henry Joy M'Cracken and Robert Emmet."

CHAPTER XXII.

HAVING given the account of the battle of Antrim
one who took a far more active part in it than m
be inferred from his narrative, in which all mentic
his own exploits is carefully omitted, I now proce
give a verbal account which I received from a gentle
who took a leading part on the other side, and w
statement, I am fully persuaded, is in entire acc
ance with his impression of the truth of every fa
event related to him or witnessed by him whicl
describes. On the subject of the capture of Will
Orr, which precedes the account of the Antrim b
ness, a few words will be found, though not
nected with the latter, except so far as the part ta
in both by the gentleman referred to, tends to s
the side on which his services and sympathies
enlisted.

The Rev. Arthur Chichester Macartney, vica
Belfast, (son to the late Rev. Dr. Macartney of
trim,) states that his father was a magistrate in
neighbourhood of Antrim for some years prece
1797. He had received information of William
having administered an unlawful oath to two sold
and issued a warrant for his apprehension. Orr l

out of the way, and in September, 1797, Dr. Macartney being obliged to go to England, his son, now the vicar of Belfast, hearing that Orr's father was dying, and that William Orr would be likely to be at home, mentioned the circumstance to an officer, who accompanied him to the father's house at ten o'clock in the morning, and surrounded the house with soldiers. William Orr was not to be found; at length, on searching an outhouse, he was discovered in an oat-bin, and taken and committed to jail. After his conviction, Dr. Macartney set off for Dublin, and had an interview with Lord Camden, succeeded in getting him respited twice, and strongly pleaded for a pardon for him. The judge who tried William Orr was present on the last occasion, and said, in Lord Camden's presence, " Mr. Macartney, if you can lay your hand upon your heart, and say you do not think the evidence was sufficient to convict the man, I will recommend his Excellency to respite him." Dr. Macartney could not do this, and the execution took place. William Orr was looked upon as a person of singularly great and noble qualities, and as a martyr. The fact is, he was a man of very moderate abilities; athletic in his frame, active, and somewhat of a sporting character among his class. His brother Samuel was a man of great muscular strength, noted for his prowess in party feuds, and for his use of the stick, being, from his great height, better able than most men to strike on and over the heads of his opponents. On one occasion he had led a party to an attack on a place where he (Mr. Macartney) was posted, and had been repulsed with a few

shots. At Antrim he had a command assigned to him, and was accused of cowardice by his companions.

Before the engagement commenced at Antrim some houses had been set fire to by the military. The smoke which issued from them caused one of the rebel columns, then on its way from Ballyclare to Antrim, to halt for nearly an hour, whereby the king's troops had time to bring up the guns, and were just crossing the Masserene bridge with them as the head of the rebel column appeared entering the town. The rebel column came forward with great spirit and steadiness; but when the canister shot began to take effect (five rounds from each gun), when they saw men fall, and heard screams, and the word passed to the rear that many were killed, they broke rapidly. The dragoons then charged them boldly. They had to pass the churchyard, which was occupied by rebel musketry, and the former suffered severely from their fire as they galloped up to the charge. In the midst of the battle a sort of single combat took place between a colonel on their side and a man of the name of Campbell, who came out of the ranks of the rebels, singled out the colonel, and maintained a desperate struggle, keeping his ground with extraordinary intrepidity.

The rebels commenced the attack in an orderly and disciplined manner, with a band of music playing "The Lass of Richmond-hill."* They had two pieces

* Hope states that they had no band, but entered the town singing the Marselloise hymn.

of cannon; these were formerly, with four other pieces, given to the Volunteers by the Government. When the Volunteers were suppressed, the cannon was taken from them, and kept in the linen hall, but they disappeared one night; two pieces were subsequently found buried at Ballymacarrett, and the other two, the day before the attack on Antrim, were taken from the meeting-house of Mr. Campbell at Temple-Patrick, and were used by the rebels in the engagement. It did not appear to Mr. Macartney that any one man on the rebels' side had a pre-eminence as a commander. There were three or four of their officers seen dressed in green uniforms. The authorities at Belfast had been apprised of the intended rising at one o'clock in the morning, the day of the attack on Antrim. The rebel directory o Belfast had determined on the attack at twelve o'clock, or a little past midnight, and one of the leaders of their executive, within half an hour after their deliberation, had communicated the result of it to General Nugent—consequently, the rebels were completely taken by surprise, when, considering themselves in possession of the town, the reinforcements arrived to the amount of nearly three thousand men, and they were driven from the town; and a large body of them who had not entered the town, but were waiting the issue at a short distance, were surrounded and cut to pieces.

Samuel Orr had a command assigned him at the battle of Antrim, but his own party accused him of cowardice and of skulking about the hill of Donegore, when his services were required in the engagement in

the town. A cousin of his, William Orr, took an active part in the rebellion; he was allowed to go into exile in 1798. For many years he remained in Australia, and at the expiration of several years, he went to India, made a great deal of money, and, through the influence of Mr. Macartney, was permitted to return home, and is now living at Newgrove, near Ballymena.

Mr. Macartney says, the first information of the designs, actors, and strength of the Belfast United Irishmen, was communicated by his father to Lord Camden in the spring of 1797, and his Lordship acknowledged in a letter, still in Mr. Macartney's possession, the country's salvation was due to him; he had discovered in the country a committee in actual assembly, and seized all their papers.

At the battle of Antrim, being then a member of the College Corps, Mr. Macartney had a full view of Lord O'Neil at the time he received his mortal wound; they were both pike wounds, the fatal one had perforated the stomach; he had fallen off his horse on his back, and the mortal wound was given while he was in that position. Mr. Macartney's party were behind the wall of Massarene Castle, and could not fire on the rebel who was engaged with Lord O'Neil for fear of hitting his Lordship; their fire had driven off two previous assailants. Lord O'Neil walked to Dr. Bryson's and knocked; the door was not opened, and he sat down on the steps. Mr. Macartney's party called to some dragoons who had had their horses shot, to carry him into the market-house, promising to protect them with their fire;

this was done. The rebels in Antrim he estimates at eight thousand, the king's troops at three hundred; the casualties of the latter, killed and wounded, about fifty; that of the rebels upwards of three hundred; of which number, in the town alone, one hundred and nineteen were found dead.

Mr. Macartney's statement of facts and opinions, in reference to this subject, was given in a spirit of candour, and of fairness to those whose principles he is so strenuously opposed to, which it would be well if others of similar views and opinions would endeavour to imitate. The account of the great superiority of the rebel force in point of numbers over that of the king's troops is certainly incorrect, but we are fully persuaded that Mr. Macartney is incapable of making any statement of the truth of which he is not firmly persuaded.

We conclude this subject with the official account, communicated by the commanding officer to the Government, and published in the Government organs of the day:—"On the 7th of June, Major Seddon, commanding in Antrim, received information that the rebels were to burn and destroy that town. He sent an express to Blaris camp, Belfast, and Lisburn. At half-past two o'clock, there arrived from Belfast two troops of horse commanded by Colonel Lumley with a six-pounder. The rebels collected to the amount of some thousands. Lord Massarene's corps of yeomanry assisted on the occasion.

"Colonel Lumley ordered his troops to make a charge on the enemy; he was unfortunately wounded, and the light horse obliged to retreat and cross the

river; Major Seddon had three horses shot under him. Colonel Durham soon arrived with additional assistance; and on a well-directed fire on the town the insurgents were driven out; two curricle guns were retaken, which had fallen into their hands, and a six-pounder; they were pursued to Shanes Castle and Randalstown with great slaughter. Lord O'Neil having been informed that the rebels were in possession of Randalstown, went to Antrim with a small party, intending to protect his house; he was attacked on the way by a party of the insurgents, and received a desperate wound from a pike, under which he languished till the 11th of June, when he died in great agony. At Antrim the rebels are said to have lost 500 men. After their defeat, the Monaghan militia arrived and plundered them. As to the action in Randalstown, which took place about the same time, the loss of the rebels there is stated to have been above three hundred. In the engagements of this day the Ballinderry yeomanry suffered a great deal; the loss on the part of the army was three officers, and twenty rank and file killed and wounded; amongst these we have to mention Cornet Dunn and Quartermaster Simpson killed, Lieutenant Murphy wounded. Another body of the rebels attacked the town, where a subaltern's detachment of the Tay fencibles maintained their post in the barrack with great gallantry. On the 5th of June, by accounts received at Dublin from Belfast, it was stated that the rebels in that quarter were dispersed in all directions, except at Toome, whither General Knox and Colonel Clavering were proceed-

ing, and that many of them had laid down their arms; also that Mr. Claverty had returned from Donegore Hill, to which place he had been carried prisoner by 2000 rebels. Whilst he was in this situation the insurgents disagreed and quarrelled among themselves; and, from his influence and address amongst them, 1500 of them left their camp, surrendered their arms, and swore they would never again carry an offensive weapon against his majesty or his loyal subjects; many more of them dispersed, and their commander was left with about fifty men only.

"On the same day, Colonel Stapleton having information of a number of people assembled at Saintfield, he set out from Newtownards, with a detachment of the York fencible regiment, accompanied by the Newtownards and Comber yeomen cavalry and infantry; altogether about three hundred and twenty men, and two field pieces. About half-past four o'clock in the evening they fell upon the rebels, supposed to have been between six and seven thousand. The light infantry, commanded by Captain Chetwynd, advanced to secure an eminence on the right, which having accomplished, he was attacked by a force of at least three thousand men, the front armed with pikes, the centre and rear with muskets, whose fire galled them severely, till the body of the troops and the field-pieces came up, when the rebels were defeated, with the loss of about five hundred men, amongst whom were many of their leaders. The king's troops, after routing the insurgents, marched to Comber, where they halted during the night; and next morning proceeded to Belfast. In this action, Captain

Chetwynd, Lieutenant Unite, and I. Sparks were killed, and Lieutenant Edenson wounded; the total loss, on the part of the king's troops, was twenty-nine killed, and two wounded.

"Accounts were now received by General Nugent from Colonel Clavering, that the disaffected in the neighbourhood of Antrim had expressed a desire to submit, and return to their duty. At Ballymena, a number of pikes and muskets were delivered up to the magistrates; many more, with a brass field-piece, were also surrendered to Major Seddon."

The battle of Randalstown, which Hope makes mention of in his narrative, took place on the same day as that of Antrim.

The following information respecting it was given to us by the late Dr. M'Gee, of Belfast, about two or three months before his death. He was arrested in 1798, on a charge of high treason, being then a resident at Randalstown, and had an intimate acquaintance with the matters of which he spoke:—

"Randalstown battle took place 7th June, 1798, about one o'clock P. M. The engagement lasted fifty-two minutes. The force of the rebels amounted to about five hundred; that of the king's troops to one hundred and ten. The number of the killed and wounded, on both sides, did not exceed forty. The rebels had no cannon, and only fifty muskets.

"The king's troops were commanded by Lieutenant Ellis, and they had no artillery. The former gained the day; the troops fled to the market-house, which was their barracks: they shut themselves up, and commenced firing out of the windows. The

people then set fire to the barracks; the women were particularly active in carrying straw, &c. When the barrack was on fire, the soldiers hoisted out a white flag, and then the firing ceased, and the rebels put up ladders and poles, and all were taken out and treated with the greatest kindness; not one was put to death, or offered either injury or insult.

"Dickey, an attorney of Randalstown, a man of stern resolution, who was not present at the battle, but came in when it was over, was for putting to death the two officers, Ellis and Jones: he was opposed by Dr. M'Gee. The rebels then left the town, and took their prisoners with them; they posted themselves on an adjoining hill, (Craigmore) and there they received a message from Colonel Clavering, with terms which were accepted by the people, and shamefully violated by this officer. Three of the unfortunate people who remained in their houses were put to death in cold blood by the yeomen; one of these was a poor boy of twelve or fourteen, the only son of a widow of the name of French; they then entered the widow's house, and regaled themselves there.

"Dickey was taken, tried by court-martial, and hanged in Belfast. Captain Thomas Jones, on being liberated, joined his corps, the Toome yeomanry, and immediately commenced searching the houses in the vicinity, for such of the rebels as he had seen in Randalstown. He entered one house, the widow Neil's; her son was found at his loom working. The young man was taken to the door, held by two yeomen, while Jones shot him dead on the spot. The mother applied to the magistrates in the vicinity,

but none would take her information; she went to Dublin, and Judge Day put her in the way of getting her information taken. Jones was committed to jail, and was indicted; the bill, however, was ignored at Carrickfergus, as might have been expected: his father was one of the grand jury.

"General Clavering was an unprincipled and a merciless man. After the battle of Antrim, he went to his head quarters at Shanes Castle; there he issued his proclamation to the rebels at Randalstown, who were then in great force, but badly armed. He promised them if their arms were given up, he would grant protection to the people, and there would be a complete amnesty; if not, he would 'put man, woman, and child to the sword, and burn all their dwellings.'

"They complied with the terms within the prescribed time; this proclamation was issued on Friday, and the arms were delivered up that night at the turnpike, and on Saturday morning he marched the Monaghan militia and 64th regiment into Randalstown, and burned the town, having allowed two hours previously for plunder. He proceeded then to Ballymena. One man was ordered for execution; there was no person found to act as executioner; he levied a fine of £50 on the town in consequence, the money was paid, and he then ordered another mulct of £50 to be levied if the head was not struck off and stuck on the market-house. The head was struck off, and the fine was not levied. In one instance he accepted of a sum of money from one Jamieson, an hotel keeper.

"This Clavering, on the trial arising out of the affairs of the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke, was examined as a witness, was menaced with a committal to Newgate for prevarication; he died in obscurity in Scotland."

Dr. Magee states that he had reason to know the plans that were devised and executed by M'Cracken; and he thinks if they had been earlier adopted and carried into effect, the result would have been very different.

"The attack on Antrim," he states, "was determined on in consequence of Lord O'Neil's calling a meeting of the magistrates for the purpose of proclaiming the county, and quartering the king's troops on the inhabitants, and declaring that part of the country out of the king's peace. On the 7th of June all the magistrates were to assemble in the Courthouse, and did so. The people had information of the intended meeting, and determined on seizing the magistrates, and commencing the rising earlier than they intended; they got possession of the town, but reinforcements came in about two o'clock in the day, to the number of about three thousand, under Brigadier-General Clavering, and they regained the town. The king's troops had two six-pounders. The 22nd dragoons, and the Antrim yeomanry were under the command of Colonel Lumley. The rebels had one six-pounder, mounted on a car; but which was rendered useless after the third fire, being dismounted by the enemy's guns. They were commanded by Henry Joy M'Cracken, William Kane, and his brother."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE atrocities that were committed in Antrim, after the defeat of the rebels, were of the usual character of the yeomanry outrages. The following account of the melancholy fate of Mr. Quin, of Antrim, and his daughter, was given to me by a gentleman of that town, one who had a personal knowledge of the circumstance, and in some of the matters connected with it, a closer acquaintance than was consistent with the security of life itself:—

"Mr. Quin lived in Antrim, near the head of the street that leads to Belfast, (the Scotch quarter, as it is called.) After the people had fled, some cannon were placed by the military to play upon the houses. A shot struck the house next to Quin's, when he and his daughter, a lovely girl of sixteen, fled through the garden towards Belmount, but a short distance, when they were shot down by the yeomen or militia, who had orders to shoot every person in coloured clothes. They were buried where they fell, and it was said that the beautiful long hair of the girl was partly above the ground waving in the wind for many days. This was the fact, and I recollect it excited more sympathy among the poor people than many

horrid barbarities of the time; she was a sweet lively girl, much beloved. Her brother, now residing in Belfast, then lived in a distant town. As soon as he dare venture to the spot, he had his father and sister decently interred in the neighbouring burying ground. There were many such murders as this during the twenty-four or forty-eight hours after the engagement, the particulars of which would only be distressing to relate or to read. One of the most cruel and unprovoked was that of James M'Adam and the two Mr. Johnsons. These men had been appointed by the authorities in Ballymena, to convey and see deposited at the military camp beside Shanes Castle, several cart loads of arms which the people had delivered up after the skirmish in that town. They had deposited these arms at the camp, and had passed through Antrim on their way to relatives who resided a mile or two from Antrim. On passing the avenue of Merckamore Abbey, the residence of Mr. Allison, which was then in the act of being burned and destroyed by a party of the 22nd light dragoons from Antrim,—(these lawless and unrestrained troops had no doubt revelled in Mr. Allison's cellar,)—our unfortunate friends, in riding past, happened to attract notice, when they were shot down, and their bodies thrown into the road ditch. Their horses were sold by auction in Antrim, by the military. Some humane persons had the bodies buried the next day in the grave-yard hard by.

"James M'Adam was a millwright and builder, who had erected most of the bleach-mills for many miles round that centre of the linen manufacture; of course

he was generally known, and from every thing I could learn afterwards, (I was then very young,) he was much esteemed by all classes; by the linen merchants and bleachers as clever and conscientious in his profession, and by others as a sincere friend and good neighbour. Mr. John Johnson was a respectable cattle dealer, and Mr. Andrew Johnson was in the linen business; none of these men were engaged in the insurrection."

In gratitude to the memory of the then venerable rector of Antrim, Mr. Macartney, and as a tribute to his humanity and goodness, I must relate the following instance:—

"The son of Mr. M'Adam was then a little boy of fourteen, and had gone to business with two persons who were both involved, and had made themselves obnoxious to Mr. Macartney. The one was in prison, the other had been wounded and fled, the house was wrecked, and the goods all destroyed. M'Adam's boy was a wanderer in the streets several days after the fight. He went up to Mr. Macartney in the street, and asked him to give him a pass to go home, he, Mr. Macartney, said something that frightened him, but the next moment asked him his name, and the name of his father and mother, and where they were from; he said he knew who they were, and said something that frightened him more, but he immediately turned to the boy, took him by the hand, got him a red ribbon to put into his hat, and went with him a piece along the road that leads by the steeple to Ballymena, then ordering him not to say one word about what he saw or heard to any person

he met, he desired him to go straight home. When the son of Mr. M'Adam had proceeded a short way he saw the escort and carts of which his father had the charge about half a mile before him, where they had turned off to go to Shanes Castle; had he met them, his father would not have gone to Antrim, as it was to look after him he went there. Finding his son had gone home, he proceeded to his friends to stay that night, and intended to have returned home the next day."

The fate of William Neilson, the son of a poor widow, who was put to death after the battle of Antrim, was not less shocking to humanity than that of the daughter of the unfortunate Quin. The particulars of this case were communicated to Miss M'Cracken by the mother and sister of young Neilson.

" There was a poor widow of the name of Neilson, living in the village of Ballycarry, near Carrickfergus, who had four sons and two daughters; her second son, Samuel, had been taken prisoner on account of fire-arms having been found in the house, but was liberated on the 2nd of June, on giving bail. On the memorable 7th of June, the people began to assemble for the purpose of going to Antrim. In the same neighbourhood there happened that day to be a man from Carrickfergus, of the name of Cuthbert, a pensioner, who was in the house of one M'Ternan. It was considered advisable not to allow him to return to Carrickfergus. William Neilson, a lad of fifteen years, being young and enthusiastic in the cause in which his elder brothers were engaged,

offered to be one of a party to go to M'Ternan's house, to make a prisoner of Cuthbert, and take him with them to Donegore Hill, the place where the people assembled previously to their marching to Antrim. William, after all was over, returned to his mother's house—no fear being entertained by his friends for him on account of his extreme youth. He was taken and tried by court martial, and sent back to prison. The boy seemed to be quite unconscious of his intended fate. When his friends visited him, they found him amusing himself with his brothers.

" At midnight an order came for his removal. He was torn from the arms of his eldest brother, John, who was confined in the same cell, and hurried to the new jail, where his second brother, Sam, was confined. He was offered his pardon, on condition of giving information against the leaders at Antrim. He rejected the proposal; strenuous efforts were made to induce him to alter his determination, but they had no effect upon him. He requested that his own minister should be brought to him, the Rev. Mr. Bankhead. This request was granted, and he spent the remainder of the night with that gentleman. In the morning he begged he might be allowed to see his brother Sam; that wish was also complied with. The brother expected he would share the same fate; the fear of it, however, did not prevent his encouraging William to persist in his determination. The boy was then brought to his native village, Ballycarry, and within a mile of the town he was met by his distracted mother, who was

then on her way to visit her imprisoned family. She made her way through the soldiery, who endeavoured to keep her back; but he caught her hand, exclaiming 'Oh! my mother!'—when he was dragged from her. She then threw herself in the midst of the cavalry, at the feet of Richard Kerr, Esq., her landlord, requesting to be allowed to speak one word to her poor child; he ordered her to 'get out of his way or he would be obliged to ride over her.' Her son was brought to her door to be executed; but he requested he might not die there. He was then taken to the end of the village; his presence of mind never forsook him. He made a last effort in behalf of his brothers, begging that his death might expiate their offences, and that his body might be given to his mother; which last request was granted. His body was brought to his mother's, and strict orders given, that no persons should attend at his wake. That night some cavalry surrounded the house and forbid any strangers to attend the funeral. The next morning being the sabbath, he was followed to the place of interment by his almost distracted mother, his little brother, and two younger sisters, all who were not in confinement. His brother John was never brought to trial, but had to sign a paper consenting to his banishment for seven years, his second brother Samuel for life. William's death took place the latter end of June, 1798. His brothers sailed from Belfast in May, 1799. They were taken by the French, and the passengers being in general exiles, were treated with kindness. The vessel was retaken by the English, and sent to the West Indies.

Samuel died on the voyage: John contrived to make his escape, and got to America. Their mother had been a schoolmistress, and had managed to get John bound to the first architect in Belfast, Mr. Hunter. He left a wife and child. He followed with success the business of a builder in America, and was employed by some of the first people there. While engaged in building for President Madison, he attracted the notice of Mrs. Madison; and that lady, moved by the sad story of his brother's fate, showed, by many acts of kindness, the interest she took in his welfare. He died in America, 1827.

"The first part of this account was given me by his sister; but I remember his mother telling me that when William was told at the place of execution to cover his face, as was usual on such occasions, he refused, saying, 'He had done nothing to be ashamed of.' His mother represented him as a very handsome boy, fair, and blooming, with light hair, and with his open shirt neck, looking even younger than he was. Mr. Kerr offered his mother ten guineas to give up her house, which she indignantly refused. She was at the time extremely poor, and obliged to seek assistance from others. Some time afterwards she left the place and went to live in Island Magee, as everything surrounding her in the place of her bereavement daily reminded her of the loss of her poor boy."

CHAPTER XXIV.

For the following account of the short career of M'Cracken, from the period of his defeat at Antrim to his execution, we are indebted to his sister. And without injustice to his memory, the statement could not be given except in her own words.

"Some days after the battle of Antrim, not having received any intelligence of my brother, I set out in pursuit of him, accompanied by Mrs. M——, sister to John Shaw, of Belfast, who wished to get some information respecting her husband and also a brother of Mrs. Shaw. We went towards the White House and made some enquiries in the neighbourhood. In the evening we joined J. M'G., at the country residence of Mr. John Brown, a banker, then in England, whose gardener, Cunningham, we learned, had given shelter occasionally to the wanderers. At nightfall this man took us to a house near the cave hill, belonging to John Brier, whom I knew a little, where we got a bed that night. In the morning I urged Mrs. M. to return home, which she generously refused, although she had gained the information she required. She insisted on accompanying me. Her

husband had got safe into Belfast, disguised as a countryman with a basket of eggs, and was then safe in Mr. Shaw's house; he had been at the battle of Antrim also. The next day we continued our search, and at last met with Gawin Watt and another person, who promised to take us to a place in the evening where we would get intelligence. The latter took us to a smith's house, on the lime-stone road leading to Antrim; we then saw a man, who some years afterwards was executed for the murder of a person of another party, against whom it did not appear he previously harboured malice, but in the madness of party rage had way-laid and assassinated.

"In the back-room of this man's house we found about eight of the fugitives in consultation as to what should be done. I recommended them strongly to separate and return to their homes, if they could with safety. They replied that there was something in view, but in the event of its not taking place, they would follow my advice. Three of the party undertook to escort us; we travelled up hill, across fields, drains, and ditches, for two hours; our companions were Robert Henry, a schoolmaster, William Leith, and Robert Johnston. I had never seen any of the party before, except Johnston, on one occasion, and then only for a few minutes. We had a brisk walk for two hours, when we arrived at the Bowhill, where my dear brother and six others (James Hope one of the number) were sitting on the brow of the hill. Henry seemed surprised and rejoiced at the meeting, and after sitting with the party for a long time, talking over their adventures and escapes, he

conducted us to a house where we were received in darkness, the woman of the house not daring to light a candle, or make the fire blaze. I insisted on Mrs. M—— occupying the only chair for the remainder of the night, while I took a low stool and rested my head on her lap. My brother was to be with us at seven in the morning; we thought the night very long, but when seven o'clock came, and no Harry appeared, we became very uneasy; but still more so when one Smith, a thoughtless fellow, accompanied by the schoolmaster, arrived, and had not met with him, not having taken shelter in the same place. He came at last, having waited for the others till after two o'clock. We then set out on our way home, and he accompanied us a little way, wishing to see M'G., whom we sent out to him. Even then they had hopes of another movement.

" The spirit of patriotism and the hope of success was not, I believe, so soon extinguished in the country as in the large towns: in the former it was perhaps partly kept alive by the wanderers whose lives were in jeopardy, and the necessary care and attention of others in their preservation, which was carried to a degree of generous confidence almost incredible, and in some cases exceeding the bounds of propriety; for instance, Biddy Magee, a modest and amiable young woman, who made such efforts in saving her brother's life, in 1803, told me that in 1798, (she was then about twelve or fourteen years of age,) a young man in the neighbourhood where she lived, and who seldom ventured to sleep two nights successively in the same house, was frequently allowed to

sleep in the bed with her and an older sister, in the room with her father and mother: he had fair hair and a fair complexion, like her family. In the event of any alarm, with the disguise of a woman's cap, he was to have been passed off for one of her sisters. Such acts of generous kindness, I believe, were never abused. She also told me that one night she heard the horse patrol pass their door, on the road leading to a house where she knew that some of the wanderers were concealed, about a quarter of a mile off by the fields, but considerably further by the road; that she started out of bed immediately, threw some of her clothes on, darted across the fields, and was just in time to warn the men to make their escape, and returned home in safety. The act was considered as heroic, for the girl was so timid that she dared not venture to the well for water in the dusk of the evening.

"Soon after the former interview, I received the following letter from my brother:—

"'*Monday*, 18*th June*, 1798.

"'Dear Mary,—The clothes came in very good time, as I had much need of a change, having never had that luxury since I left home before. I will endeavour to arrange matters, so that any thing I want will come regularly to me. At present I cannot, as my lodging is the open air, which, with great abundance of exercise, keeps me in good health and high spirits, although my companions are not so numerous now as they were lately. *These are the times that try men's souls.* You will no doubt hear a great number

of stories respecting the situation of this country: its present unfortunate state is entirely owing to treachery. The rich always betray the poor. In Antrim, little or nothing was lost by the people until after the brave men who fought the battle had retreated, few of whom fell, not more than one for ten of their enemies; but after the villains who were intrusted with direction for the lower part of the county gave up hostages, and all without any cause, private emolument excepted, murder then began, and cruelties have continued ever since. It is unfortunate that a few wicked men could thus destroy a county, after having been purchased by blood; for it is a fact, which I am sure you never knew, that on Friday, the 8th of June, all this county was in the hands of the people, Antrim, Belfast, and Carrickfergus excepted. When I see you I will tell you a variety of little anecdotes that have occurred since I left home. Let me have all the news, and when opportunity serves send me newspapers. Remember me to all the family and friends, who I doubt are few, and believe me to be truly yours,

(Signed) 'H. J. M'CRACKEN.'

"Shortly afterwards I again went to see him at David Bodle's, beside the Cave hill, but nearer to Belfast. He was a poor labourer, with a wife and three daughters. The girls often rose out of their beds early in the morning, to let the fugitives get rest. I had afterwards an opportunity of materially serving that family, and some others who had done similar acts of kindness. Leith and Henry got safe

away to America, and Johnston is still living at home. It was on Sunday afternoon, the 8th of July, my birth-day, that we got intelligence that Henry was taken prisoner by four Carrickfergus yeomen, one of whom, Niblock, knew him. John Query and Gawin Watt were with him at the time, and were likewise arrested. Harry had obtained a pass in another name, and was then on his way to the place appointed for embarkation on board of a foreign vessel, with the captain of which an agreement had been made for his passage. At a place where they stopped on the road, Watt contrived to get hold of one of the guns of the yeomen, which had been laid down for a few minutes, knocked out the priming without being perceived, and told Harry to save his life; but seeing the impossibility of doing so without involving his associates in additional danger, he thought it better to try, by other means, to save all. He had a written acknowledgment for a sum of £30 on his person, which was the same as money; and this he offered to Niblock, if he would allow himself and his companions to escape. Niblock refused the offer, but M'Gilpin, another of the yeomen, was willing to let them go. M'Cracken had nearly effected an arrangement when they stopped at a public-house, one of the party went out unperceived, and brought back with him an officer, who secured the prisoners. Immediately on getting the intelligence of Harry's arrest, my father and I set off to Carrickfergus, and with difficulty obtained permission to visit him; the officer who accompanied us politely standing at a distance, not to prevent our conversation. Harry desired me

not to use any solicitations on his account; and after expressing to me his wishes on many matters, he desired me to tell my brother John to come to him. My mother had sent him a favourite book of his, 'Young's Night Thoughts,' and I observed a line from it written on the wall of his cell,—

'A friend's worth all the hazard we can run.'

We remained all night in Carrickfergus, and tried the next morning to see him again; but were not admitted. We saw him, however, through the window of his cell, when he gave me a ring, with a green shamrock engraved on the outside, and the words, 'Remember Orr,' on the inside, presented to him by his friend Thomas Richardson, and which he desired me to give to his mother. Since her death it has remained with me. On the 16th, he was brought in prisoner to Belfast, in the evening. My sister and I immediately set out to try if we could see him. He was then standing, with a strong escort, about a dozen, I think, of soldiers, who were drawn up in the middle of what is now called Castle-place. We could not speak to him there. He was then taken to the artillery barracks in Ann-street, and we hastened to Colonel Durham, who lodged in Castle-place; we knocked at the door, and just as it was opened, the colonel, who had been out, came up; and when we earnestly requested he would give us an order for admission to see our brother, who was to be tried the next day, he replied, that, 'If our father and mother, sisters and brother, and all the friends we had in the world, were in similar

circumstances, he would give no such order.' He had, by this time, entered his hall-door, which he shut against us with great violence. We returned home, and then learned that there was a large party of officers dining at the Exchange-rooms. We hurried there, and sent a message to Colonel Barber, who instantly sent out a young officer to accompany us to my brother; and when we apologized to this gentleman for giving him so much trouble, he said, 'He did not consider it any trouble, and would be glad to serve us.' I did not learn his name. When we reached the place of confinement, he very kindly stood at a distance from the door of the cell, that we might have an opportunity of conversing at our ease with our brother. Harry then told us that he did not know who would appear against him; that he had been told Samuel Orr, a brother of William Orr, was to come forward; but he could not believe it. He desired that Mrs. Holmes (daughter to my uncle, Henry Joy) and Miss Mary Toomb (his grand-daughter) might be requested to attend his trial the next day, to prove the fact of their having advised him to leave Belfast, in order, if no material evidence was brought against him, some advantage might be derived from the circumstance of his friends having endeavoured to persuade him to leave town previously to the Antrim business.

"The next morning, at five o'clock, we were knocked up by a soldier, who said he had been on guard at the artillery barracks, and that Henry had sent him for half-a-guinea and a bottle of whiskey, which my sister immediately gave the man. But on visiting

Henry the same morning she found that no such message had been sent by him.

"I arose at six, and set out in a carriage for the place where Miss Toomb was then staying with a lady, near Lisburn. I endeavoured to keep up her spirits as well as I could, fearing from the state of grief and anxiety she was in she would be unable to give evidence. She came with me, and on arriving in town, the 17th of July, I proceeded to the Exchange, where the trial was just commenced. The moment I set my eyes on him I was struck with the extraordinary serenity and composure of his look. This was no time to think about such things, but yet I could not help gazing on him; it seemed to me that I had never seen him look so well, so full of healthful bloom, so free from the slightest trace of care or trouble, as at that moment, when he was perfectly aware of his approaching fate.

"I sat very near the table when the trial was going on. Colonel Montgomery was President. The first witness called was Minis, who swore that Harry had called at his house the morning of the battle of Antrim, and forced him to go with him; that he was present at that engagement, and saw M'Cracken taking an active part in it. The other witness, James Beck, a poor miserable-looking creature, swore that he had seen Harry only once before the fight, one evening in the street; that he was pointed out to him at Antrim, and that he knew him by a mark on his throat, which mark was not seen until his neckkerchief was taken off.

"Hope informed me that an artillery man, of the

name of Muldoon, had been on guard the morning of the 17th of July, and had told him that the witnesses who had sworn against M'Cracken did not know him; that he was walking in the yard when an officer pointed him out to them from a window looking into the yard, and told them of the mark on his throat. (This practice of pointing out prisoners to crown witnesses was by no means uncommon in Ireland at that period.)

" Immediately preceding the examination of the witnesses, my father, who was just recovered from a severe and tedious fit of illness, and who appeared to be sinking beneath the weight of old age and affliction, was called aside by Pollock, who told him that he had such evidence against his son as would certainly hang him; that his life was in his hands, and that he would save it if my father would persuade him to give such information as Pollock knew it was in his power to do, namely, who the person was who had been appointed to command the people at Antrim, in whose place he (M'Cracken) had acted. My father replied, that 'he knew nothing and could do nothing in the matter: he would rather his son died than do a dishonourable action.' The tyrant, however, not content with the trial of his virtue, would torture him still farther by calling Harry to the conference, and repeated the same offer to himself, who well knowing his father's sentiments, answered, that 'he would do any thing which his father knew it was right for him to do.' Pollock repeated the offer, on which my father said, 'Harry, my dear, I know nothing of the business, but you know best

what you ought to do.' Harry then said, 'Farewell, father,' and returned to the table to abide the issue of the trial. After I left him, I was told that Major Fox went up to him and asked him for the last time if he would give any information, at which he smiled, and said, 'he wondered how Major Fox could suppose him to be such a villain.'

" The proceedings went on, and after some time Henry complained of thirst, and asked me to get him an orange or some wine and water. I hastened home, our house being at a short distance from the place, and on my way back I was accosted by the wife of William Thompson, an Englishman, a calico-print-cutter, in my brother's employment; who, refusing to give information against my brother, had two hundred lashes inflicted on him, on a charge of having engraved a seal with the device of a harp and some popular motto. Mrs. Thompson inquired of me about the trial that was then going on. She said if his life was in danger, she would appear as a witness, and swear that she had seen Henry in the street of Belfast the day of the Antrim fight. She followed me to the Exchange, repeated the proposal to Henry and Mr. Thomas Stewart, who was his attorney, who called Harry aside to hear it; they both told her, her proposal could not be accepted. Mrs. Holmes and Miss Toomb attended when called on; the latter weeping bitterly, could scarcely answer a single question. They cross-questioned Mrs. Holmes very strictly. Pollock, the crown prosecutor, who seemed most anxious for conviction, endeavoured to entrap her into contradictions; he inquired why she was so

anxious for the prisoner leaving the town; she replied, discreetly, that the disturbed state of the town was a sufficient reason for her anxiety about a relative. He strove to make her answers tell against Henry; he asked her, was the prisoner a United Irishman? she said she knew nothing about political societies. He then inquired, did she think he was one, and other similar questions. After the examination of the witnesses, I rose and went forward to the table; I stated what appeared to me to be unlike truth in the evidence that had been given by the witnesses for the prosecution, expressing a hope that they would not consider such evidence sufficient to take away life; the testimony of one witness impeaching the character and credit of the approver, on whose statements the charge was mainly dependent for support.

" Harry had taken notes of the trial, and before its termination he said to me in a whisper, 'You must be prepared for my conviction;' all his friends could then do for him was to endeavour to get his sentence commuted to banishment. Before the close of the proceedings, I hastened home with this intelligence, and my mother went instantly to General Nugent's house, and requested an interview, but he refused to be seen. I returned to the Exchange before my mother came back, but found that Henry had been removed. I little expected that any efforts to save him would be successful; but I felt I had a duty to perform—to prevent misrepresentation, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to injure his character while living, or his memory when dead. I followed him to the artillery barracks, where I saw Major Fox just

going in, and asked his permission to see my brother; he desired me to wait a little, but I followed him, and when he came to the door of my brother's cell I remained behind him at a few paces' distance; the door of the cell was opened, and I heard him say, 'You are ordered for immediate execution.' My poor brother seemed to be astonished at the announcement; indeed he well might be, at the shortness of the time allotted to him; but seeing me falling to the ground, he sprang forward and caught me. I did not, however, lose consciousness for a single instant, but felt a strange sort of composure and self-possession; and in this frame of mind I continued during the whole day. I knew it was incumbent on me to avoid disturbing the last moments of my brother's life, and I endeavoured to contribute to render them worthy of his whole career. We conversed as calmly as we had ever done. I asked him if there was anything in particular that he desired to have done. He said, 'I wish you to write to Russell, inform him of my death, and tell him that I have done my duty; tell him also that the aspersions which were cast on Tom Richardson by his fellow prisoners were false; and, as I knew him well, my testimony, I trust, will be a sufficient proof of his innocence.' 'Is there anything else you wish me to do?' I asked. 'No,' he replied, hesitatingly; but, from his look, I judged there was something occupying his thoughts which he did not wish to mention. What was then stirring in his mind flashed on mine like lightning, and vanished at the moment; but subsequent circumstances recalled it, and the cause of his anxiety became a source of com-

fort to me, and the means of fulfilling a duty to his memory. He said, 'he would like to see Mr. Kelburne, who was our clergyman.' I told him, I feared that Mr. Kelburne would be unable to come, but that if he wished to see a clergyman, Dr. Dickson was then under the same roof, and would come to him. He replied, 'he would rather have Mr. Kelburne, as it would gratify his father and mother.' He, of course, was sent for, but being confined to his bed by illness, it was a considerable time before he made his appearance. In the meantime Dr. Dickson was brought to him; they retired to the far end of the room, when I observed Dr. Dickson take out his pocket-book and write something in it; he afterwards said, that he never met with any person whose mind was better prepared to meet death. Mr. Kelburne soon after arrived, and when he did, he burst out crying, and said, 'Oh! Harry, you did not know how much I loved you.' Mr. K., after some time, endeavoured to assume composure, and, turning to Fox, said, 'I hope, Major, you will take care of the arms I sent you; the gun was a fowling-piece of my father's, for which I have a great regard, and would be sorry to lose it.' Harry, perceiving the effort at appearing more unconcerned than he really was, looked at Dr. Dickson and smiled. Mr. K. knelt down, as I believe did all present, and joined in prayer; he soon after retired, and wished me to accompany him, which I refused.

"During the early part of the day Harry and I had conversed with tranquillity on the subject of his death. We had been brought up in a firm conviction

of an all-wise and overruling Providence, and of the duty of entire resignation to the Divine will. I remarked that his death was as much a dispensation of Providence as if it had happened in the common course of nature, to which he assented. He told me there had been much perjury on his trial, but that the truth would have answered the same purpose. After the clergymen were gone, I asked for a pair of scissors, that I might take off some of his hair. A young officer who was on guard (his name was George) went out of the room and brought a pair of scissors, but hesitated to trust them into my hand, when I asked him indignantly if he thought I meant to hurt my brother. He then gave them to me, and I cut off some of Harry's hair which curled round his neck, and folded it up in paper, and put it into my bosom. Fox at that moment entered the room, and desired me to give it to him, as 'too much use,' he said, 'had already been made of such things.' I refused, saying I would only part with it in death; when my dear brother said, 'Oh! Mary, give it to him; of what value is it?' I felt that its possession would be a mere gratification to me, and, not wishing to discompose him by the contest, I gave it up.

"The time allowed him was now expired: he had hoped for a few days, that he might give his friends an account of all the late events in which he had taken a part. About five P. M. he was ordered to the place of execution, the old market-house, the ground of which had been given to the town by his great great grandfather. I took his arm, and we walked together to the place of execution, where I was told

it was the general's orders I should leave him, which I peremptorily refused. Harry begged I would go. Clasping my hands around him, (I did not weep till then,) I said I could bear any thing but leaving him. Three times he kissed me, and entreated I would go; and, looking round to recognize some friend to put me in charge of, he beckoned to a Mr. Boyd, and said, 'He will take charge of you.' Mr. Boyd stepped forward; and, fearing any further refusal would disturb the last moments of my dearest brother, I suffered myself to be led away. Mr. Boyd endeavoured to give me comfort, and I felt there still was comfort in the hope he gave me, that we should meet in heaven. A Mr. Armstrong, a friend of our family, came forward and took me from Mr. Boyd, and conducted me home. I immediately sent a message to Dr. M'Donnell and Mr. M'Cluney, our apothecary, to come directly to the house. The latter came, and Dr. M'Donnell sent his brother Alexander, a skilful surgeon. The body was given up to his family unmutilated; so far our entreaties and those of our friends prevailed.

"From the moment I parted with Harry, the idea which had occurred to me in the morning that it might be possible to restore animation, took full possession of my mind, and that hope buoyed up my strength, and supported me at the moment of parting with him. Every effort that art could devise was made, and at one time hopes of success were entertained, but the favourable symptoms disappeared, and the attempt was at length given up. I was present when the medical men entered the room where the

body was laid, and then retired and joined the rest of the family, awaiting the result with indescribable anxiety. My heart sank within me when we were told all hope was over, and that a message had been brought from the general that the funeral must take place immediately, or that the body would be taken from us. Preparations were made for immediate burial. I learned that no relative of his was likely to attend the funeral. I could not bear to think that no member of his family should accompany his remains, so I set out to follow them to the grave.

"A kind-hearted man, an enthusiast in the cause for which poor Harry died, drew my arm within his, but my brother John soon followed, and took his place. I heard the sound of the first shovelful of earth that was thrown on the coffin, and I remember little else of what passed on that sad occasion. I was told afterwards that poor Harry stood where I left him at the place of execution, and watched me until I was out of sight; that he then attempted to speak to the people, but that the noise of the trampling of the horses was so great that it was impossible he should be heard; that he then resigned himself to his fate, and the multitude who were present at that moment uttered cries which seemed more like one loud and long-continued shriek than the expression of grief or terror on similar occasions. He was buried in the old churchyard where St. George's church now stands, and close to the corner of the school-house, where the door is.

"A most daring outrage, several years after my brother's interment, was committed on the feelings of

the inhabitants by the Rev. Edward May.* This churchyard, where the departed friends of the principal inhabitants of the town were interred, the rev. gentleman took it into his head to convert to other uses. The graves were levelled, the ashes of the dead were scandalously disturbed, and the tombstones torn up. The sacrilege, however, excited such painful and indignant feelings, that the shameful proceedings were stopped, and it was then proposed to plant the levelled yard with trees, and this in some measure tranquillized the public feeling for a time. Mr. May, however, contrived to get a bill hurried through Parliament, which gave a power to certain parties to dispose of part of the ground. This was done, and large yards were thus given to several of the houses in Church-lane; and the burying-ground of my family, where my poor brother's remains now lie, thus disposed of, is now built over.

"About two days after the fatal event, a servant girl was sent to the prison for the bed and other things that had been sent there for his accommodation, when one of the soldiers spoke of the man getting the half-guinea and bottle of whiskey; and the day following the girl was sent to give evidence at a court martial, by which the unfortunate man was tried for this offence, and sentenced to receive two hundred lashes.

"It was told me as a matter that was calculated to afford satisfaction: it gave me none: I was pained to hear of it. My brother Frank left Belfast for Cork,

* Mr. Edward May was the brother-in-law of Lord Donegal.

to embark for Barbadoes, about the latter end of July, and first called to take leave of his acquaintances in the prison of this town, and among the rest visited Dr. Dickson, who expressed a wish to see me. I, of course, attended the summons without delay. The object of it was to inform me of the existence of an infant child of my dear brother, whose inability to provide for it was the only cause of sorrow which weighed on his mind in his last moments. She was left to our care. Good indeed to us came out of evil. That child became to us a treasure. My brother Frank and I would now be a desolate old couple without her. She is to us as an only and affectionate daughter.

" Notwithstanding the grief that overcame every feeling for a time, and still lingers in my breast, connecting every passing event with the remembrance of former circumstances which recall some act or thought of his, I never once wished that my beloved brother had taken any other part than that which he did take.

" In justice to the Northern directory, I must remind you that Harry brought the message from Dublin respecting the plan and time of action. He could not be mistaken, but they might have misunderstood him so far, as to have thought that the first signal was only one for preparation, and that it was to be followed by another, giving a certain knowledge of the rising in Dublin having taken place; and this not being the case, they were not warranted in acting; and by being over cautious the opportunity was lost, which never returned; at all events, I do not think

they were influenced by personal cowardice. The general, who was one of the directory, was, and still continues, a man of most exemplary character, both moral and religious, and a man of such a serious, thoughtful mind, so truly conscientious and well disposed, that he could not be supposed likely to enter into either a dishonest or an impracticable scheme; and his example, moreover, had great influence in inducing others to join the union.

"In considering the unsuccessful struggle in which my brother was engaged, many are too apt to forget the evils of the time. The grinding oppression under which the people laboured, the contempt in which public opinion was held, the policy which prevented its expression, and intimidated the press. The only means then existing of stemming the torrent of corruption and oppression were tried, and they failed; but this failure, grievous as were its consequences, was not without its beneficial effects.

"Happily a new light has now broken on the world, which is perhaps of all modern discoveries and improvements the most important, that of effecting by reason what was formerly attempted, and often in vain, by force, and even when successful was dearly purchased by its unhappy and demoralizing results. But another light is no less essential to our efforts for the public good. Religion should also be called to aid the regeneration (if I may use the term) of our political as well as our social and individual character. Its Divine precepts are simple and easily comprehended—to do to others as we would wish others to do to us; to do no evil that good may come of it; to

love our neighbour as ourselves, and to be guided by the parable of the good Samaritan, to consider all who are within reach of our kindness as our neighbours, however they may differ from us in our religious belief; thus endeavouring to become in reality what we profess to be, true and sincere Christians; for then indeed would this world become a paradise of peace.

"Some object to joining religion and politics together; but surely religion should be the ruling principle of every action and of every thought. With such an unerring guide how could we do wrong? The same golden rule that should regulate the conduct of private individuals, should direct the acts of public men; and with such direction no government could inflict the wrongs on a people which ours have endured, and found to be intolerable in 1798."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE last effort of the United Irishmen terminated in their defeat at Antrim and Ballynahinch. The rebellion was now suppressed, and the measure for the accomplishment of which it was fomented remained to be carried into effect. The following extracts from letters of the sister of M'Cracken throw some light on the feelings of the people with respect to the changes in the sentiments of public men who had been lately foremost, condemning popular excitements, and, if not banded against the people, hallooing on men of greater virulence and violence than themselves, in every onslaught of Orangeism in those times of terror; and now who were holding language as inflammatory and seditious as any which they had denounced.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MISS M. M'CRACKEN.

"*Belfast, August 22,* 1798.

"At this disastrous period, when death and desolation are around us, and the late enthusiasm of

the public mind seems sinking into despair, when human sacrifices are become so frequent as scarcely to excite emotion, it would be a folly to expect that the fate of a single individual should excite any interest beyond his own unhappy circle.

"I endeavour to rejoice in that change of measures which may bring happiness to others, though individually it cannot now affect myself, yet am obliged to confess that the pleasure I feel is but languid to what it would have been, had those measures been sooner adopted; and the contrast brings with it, if possible, a more painful sense of that loss which I must ever lament. Still it is a consolation, though a small one, that the friend we have lost died with the regret of all who knew him, nay, with the admiration even of his enemies. They now can afford to extol his noble qualities; but of what consequence is their regret or admiration? neither can recall him from the grave. We think of following our brother Frank in the course of a few months to America, if the situation of affairs here does not before that time greatly amend. William has at last returned home, and was taken up on suspicion, and detained for a few days. Mr. M'Glathery has been admitted to bail, and a great number of those who have been concealed this some time past, several of whom there had been rewards offered for apprehending, have got away a few days ago in an American vessel. I was sorry to hear, by Mr. Zachariah Shaw, who called here a few weeks ago, that his brother Jonas was recovering very slowly.

I hope, however, before this time that he is perfectly well.*

(Signed) "MARY ANN M'CRACKEN."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MISS M'CRACKEN, WRITTEN ABOUT THE TIME OF THE UNION, IN REFERENCE TO THE NEW OPINIONS ON THAT SUBJECT OF HER RELATIVE, COUNSELLOR JOY.

"I consider any event as fortunate which obliges people at last to open their eyes, who have been so long wilfully blind in regard to the interests of Ireland; but what are we to think of those, who have so long preached against the agitation of the public mind as a duty to any government; who deprecated violence, and censured individuals who dared to call in question the wisdom or the justice of our rulers; and yet these persons now talk of opposing *force to force*, merely to prevent a union which would only render this country in appearance, that which it has long been in reality, a *province dependent on England.* Have they already forgotten how often it has been asserted by them, that Ireland could not otherwise exist. Revolution, reform, or whatever else you please to call it, is beginning in the right place; the clouds of error are fast disappearing before the sunbeams of truth in the mind of the public, and it is with pleasure I observe such a change in Harry's political sentiments. The motto of his address is

* Jonas Shaw never recovered from the effects of being flogged, but lingered for a few months. He was a quaker, and remarkably mild. He was flogged at the prevôt in Dublin Castle, by Lord Kingsborough's orders.—R. R. M.

perfectly applicable to the present situation of the country; but in a sense quite the reverse of what he means. Is there no other argument against this union, than 'that it will lessen the property of the rich?' The question I ask myself is, Can it increase the sufferings of the poor?—of those especially who are entitled to our commiseration? Let us turn our eyes to the wretched cottagers of the south, whose labour can scarcely procure them a single meal of potatoes in the day, and whose almost total want of clothing makes them fly the approach of strangers. Yet how entirely insensible did we all appear to that accumulation of injuries and oppressions under which they have so long groaned, and by which they were finally driven to their late unhappy insurrection;—I say unhappy, because unsuccessful. To what they have suffered in consequence, I shall not advert; but long before resistance came, the most shocking cruelties were practised on the people, though on a less extensive scale than subsequently to the insurrection. I do not make this assertion on slight grounds, or on hearsay authority, but from the perusal of a great number of affidavits sworn by the actual sufferers, and collected by one whose exertions in behalf of humanity are now at an end; by one who, in neglect of every personal consideration, uninfluenced by every motive of individual advantage, set danger and difficulty at defiance, in prosecuting an investigation into the complaints of the unfortunate people in a neighbouring county, where a licensed horde of ruffians, under the denomination of Orangemen, were allowed, unpunished, to commit atrocities which

humanity recoils to think on. It is not every man can look unmoved on every law of justice and humanity trampled on, openly and daily, and that with impunity. And yet we were told that justice even then rested on an immutable basis. The Habeas Corpus Act, the Indemnity Act, have long since proved that these foundations might be shaken or removed at the pleasure of a British minister. As there are two distinct bodies in the North, I know not which of them Harry means to address. Is it that body, who once vainly imagining that they were in possession of an independent Parliament, whose laws were sufficient to protect their liberty, and stepped boldly forward, and were willing to hazard life, property, and every thing they held dear in support of it? But the delusion is now vanished; the intrigues of the British minister weakened, by dividing the country; it is now no longer necessary to deceive the people; they are left without the means of resistance, if they had the inclination or temerity to have recourse to it, and must patiently submit to the new wrong that is now in meditation for them. All, it is true, do not feel this to be their situation; some having deserted their early principles, and adopted those they enrolled themselves among the volunteers to oppose. What is there left to contend for, now the substance is gone? shall we quarrel for the shadow? for the shadow alone of nationality remains in this unfortunate land."

Henry Joy M'Cracken was not long survived by his father. The latter died on the 20th of December,

1803, in his eighty-third year. The conduct of this venerable man on the trial of his son is the best illustration of his character. The Belfast *Newsletter* of the 23rd December, 1803, contains a detailed account of his career, and describes him as a man whose characteristic qualities were probity of principle, love of truth, suavity of manners, and benevolence of disposition.

On the 25th of May, 1814, the mother of Henry Joy M'Cracken died in Belfast in her eighty-fourth year. The paper in which her death is recorded makes mention of her being the sister of the late Henry and Robert Joy; no doubt, in the editor's opinion, the aunt of Baron Joy was a prouder title than that of *the mother of Henry Joy M'Cracken*, but the latter will best serve to recall her memory, and to remind her countrymen of its claim to their remembrance.

William M'Cracken, who was confined in Kilmainham along with his brother, in the year 1797, died the 7th of June, 1814.

The last of the brothers, and, it may be added, the last of the original Belfast Company of Volunteers, Francis M'Cracken, ended his days the 22nd of December, 1842, upwards of eighty years of age. He gloried in the name of an Irish Volunteer: when he spoke of the old volunteering times, and the men of 1782; of his exploits and of theirs; of their bloodless victory at Dungannon, and of the independence of his country; the topic seemed to re-enervate his strength and spirits, and, in the momentary glow of ardour and enthusiasm,—in the glistening eyes of the

poor old decrepit man, one could discover a
the old fire which animated the young volun
years ago. But this worthy old gentleman h
claims to the respect and esteem of his t
than his connexion with the Volunteers;
good citizen, one of the old school and
frank, generous, and kind-hearted gentlema

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ORTELIUS'S MAP.

It was the old argument against the emancipation of the Catholics, that "if they were admitted into Parliament, they would soon compose a majority, who would revive the Court of Claims, and institute an inquiry into defective titles, and an invitation of re-assumption to ancient proprietors." On that score, so far as Catholic emancipation is concerned, there is no longer any dread; but at the root of every other important measure for the good of Ireland, that is calculated to be of any advantage to the people, the same apprehension is to be found. They who entertain it do not call it by its proper name; it subsists under a variety of denominations, but is not called by one calculated to give the least idea of its true import.

When any measure is proposed, the tendency of which is supposed to be to elevate the people's character or position, the Church is said to be in danger—the Protestant ascendency in danger—the State in danger—the Throne in danger—everything, in short, except the real thing that is thought to be in peril, is declared to be in danger. There probably is not a subject connected with the interests of property on which more erroneous opinions prevail; and where its importance is so great, and its opposition to the interests of the people takes such a number of formidable shapes, it becomes a matter of great consequence to

ascertain whether there really exists any reasonable cause for the anxiety that is felt. The first person who undertook to show its futility, was the learned Charles O'Connor, of Ballenagare; he published a map in 1777, bearing the names both of the English and Irish proprietors in the beginning of 1700; he showed that by intermarriages, the failure of the old line, in numerous cases, where the English adventurers had come into possession, the circumstance of a great number of the forfeited estates having been conferred on the chiefs of Irish septs in amity with the British sovereign; it was impossible to entertain a thought of disturbing the tenure of landed property. Chiefly with the view of demonstrating the fact, he published the map, which bears the name of "Ortelius." This map, now rarely met with, has been republished, and some comments upon it, by William Todd Jones, the most conclusive that ever have been made on this subject, appeared to the author worthy of insertion in this place.

With a view, likewise, of furnishing materials for forming an opinion how far the men prominent on both sides in the political drama of 1798 were connected with, or interested in the real property of the country, that map, of undoubted authenticity, may be referred to, showing the names of the proprietors of the soil in the several provinces, in the beginning of the 17th century.

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE TAKEN FROM THE LETTER OF W. TODD JONES, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRECEDING OBSERVATIONS:—

This inoffensive and ill-fated map, published by Mr. O'Connor, as an acceptable present to the learned and historical world, was printed by Wogan, No. 23, Old Bridge, Dublin, about the year 1777, and is at present upon my table. It is denominated in the shield, "Ortelius Improved; or, a new Map of Ireland; wherein are inserted the principal families of Irish and English extraction, who possessed that

kingdom at the commencement of the seventeenth century;" and it is dedicated by permission to the present Duke of Leinster.

It is a fragment of taste; an obscure and imperfect delineation; a map for a poring antiquary; an abstract, chronological curiosity; a map without boundaries of barony, town-land, or parish; composed of names, for the greater part, unannexed to any description of territory, but the naked counties; without pedigrees, branches of families, Christian names, or any possible clue to direct particular descendants of houses to trace or to bring evidence of their claims or of their origin.

Peruse the map: let this alarming piece of ordnance be measured and scrutinized. In Tyrone, if we find the imaginary indelible title of O'Neile and O'Hagan, there is as effectually secured a like claim of right from possession, upon the evidence of this instrument, to Hamilton, Caulfield, and Chichester: for all these names stand together, expressed in the same character, and are equally hallowed by this antiquated memorial. Look at the other extremity of the kingdom: Barry, Brown, Barret, Roche, Carew, Boyle, De Courcy, Fitzgibbon, and Fitzgerald—range with O'Callaghan, O'Driscol, O'Donovan, and O'Donaghoe; all which present resident Catholics named in it, now retain a very respectable share of the estates of their ancestors, or of their tribe: consequently let the Court of Claims revive when it may, they are logically precluded from violently seizing upon what is already in their own possession.

The proprietors of Armagh are comprised under Brownlow, Caulfield, Atcheson, O'Neille, and O'Hanlon; of Lowth, under Bellew, Taaffe, Vernon, Dowdall, Flemming, Netterville; of Meath, under Barnwall, Nugent, Taylor, Preston, Plunket, Hussey, Dease, and Chievers. In Donegal, Derry, and Fermanagh, we do not trace one British name, except Boyle and Cole; nor a native one, but M'Guire, O'Flannagan, and M'Donough: and where little O'Flannagan is now to be found, except in "Goldsmith's Good-

natured Man," Ortelius must return from heaven to tell. The proprietors of Monaghan and Cavan are comprised under M'Mahon, Hamilton, O'Reily, Sheridan, Corry, Plunket, Brady, Kiernan, Cole, and M'Tiernan; of Down and Antrim, under White, M'Gennis, O'Neille, Macartan, Savage, M'Donnell, O'Hara, and Macquillan. These seven latter counties are now pretty securely peopled, occupied, and settled: O'Neile and O'Hanlon are in a minority in Armagh; and Magennis and Macartan must have other aid than a free Parliament to dispossess the Hills and the Rawdons in Down; or the M'Quillans to drive back to Scotland the M'Donnels of Dunluce, Mazareen, and the Glynns. The proprietors of Longford and Westmeath are comprised under Farrel, Tuit, Delamar, Cruise, Dalton, Dillon, Malone, Fox, Geoghegan, Daly, and Fitzsimmons; and gentlemen will here observe that almost every name, either of the ancient or the Protestant church, in these once bloody counties, are now resident families there, cemented together for a century; and by neighbourhood, consanguinity, friendship, and property, pledged to peace. Of the Queen's County, under Moore, Dempsey, Wandesford, Brennan, Fitzpatrick, Coughlan, Maloy, and Carol; of Kilkenny and Tipperary, under Butler, Mathew, Maddin, Egan, O'Brien, Kennedy, and the most ancient family of the O'Dwyers of Kilnemanah; of Waterford, under De la Poer, Sherlock, Aylward, Fitzgerald, Boyle, Felan, Walsh, and Carew. Here is scarcely a British or an Irish name comprised in these three most important counties which is not at this day a conformist, and in possession of respectable or of enormous landed property, sanctioned by the authority of this alarming chart. Of Carlow and Kildare, under Cook, Bagnal, Cavanagh, Fitzgerald, Rochford, Wogan, Eustace, Aylmer, Allen, Sarsfield, and White; of Wicklow and Wexford, under Byrne, Toole, Murphy, Cavanagh, and Colclough; of Limerick and Clare, under O'Brien, O'Connor, M'Mahon, O'Loughlin, O'Gorman, M'Clancy, and the princes of the country, Macnamara;

of Mayo, under Brown, Burk, Bingham, Fitzmaurice, Joice, and O'Maley; of Kerry, under Brown, M'Carty, O'Sullivan, O'Leary, M'Gillicuddy, O'Mahony, M'Ellicot, Fitzmaurice, Denny, Crosby, Trant, and Blennerhasset; of Dublin, under St. Lawrence, Luttrell, Talbot, Warren; of Sligo, under O'Hara, O'Bean, O'Dowd, M'Conavy, M'Dermot, Jordan, Dillon, Nangle, and Philips; of Leitrim, under M'Gauran, O'Rourke, and M'Randal; of Galway, under Blake, Lynch, French, Brown, Burk, and Madden; of Roscommon, under Bermingham, Crofton, Burgh, Donellan, Fallon, Kelly, M'Naughten, and the monarchs of the island, O'Connor, to this day, in lineal descent from Roderick; but they have hitherto kept it very closely to themselves, if they entertain any intentions of reassuming the sovereignty; and let my friends commence pretenders when they will, my allegiance was long since sworn to his present Majesty, and I never will transfer it, either to a republic or a pretender.

And this is the whole map; which contains a compilation of British and Irish names of families, whose descendants, representatives, or clans, still retain, out of all proportion, the greater share of territory in a large majority of the thirty-two counties; the Irish moiety of which names, or those of England still remaining Catholics, cannot, therefore, upon the validity of this map, now occupy these counties by violence, unless, like the miser, they may be amused by pilfering from themselves: and the Protestant families mentioned in it discover here their titles, recognized by all the authority which this instrument can convey; in my opinion a very poor one, but such as it is, it is explicit in bearing testimony to the authenticity of their claims. * * * *

But from what period, upon the emancipation of the Catholics, is this reassumption of lands to commence, amid the fluctuations of property, and through the series of these bloody and barbarian events, to which this divided and pelican-like island, feeding its children with its own blood, has been

subservient for four hundred years? Is this inquiry into titles to originate with the incursions under Strongbow? No! For two-thirds of the great Catholic families of the present day, ruined or in affluence, are the descendants of those who composed the train of that Earl of Pembroke, or of succeeding British marauders; and, therefore, Aylmer, Plunket, Dalton, Fitzsimmons, Walsh, Delamar, Talbot, Bellew, Netterville, Barnwall, Preston, and the other Catholic families enumerated in the map, and not Milesians, must accede to relinquish every colouring of title, before the territorial claims of the Milesian race. When O'Nial of Tyrowen, in 1602, was marching to join the Spaniards at Kinsale, he passed at Mallow, near the castle of Hugo De Barret, and being informed that it was the habitation of a zealous Catholic, whose ancestors had been in possession for four hundred years, "I hate the English churl, notwithstanding," said the Firbolg, "as if he had arrived but yesterday."

The M'Cartys were kings of the kingdom of Cork, at the first incursions of the Welsh, and it was Strongbow himself who subdued Dermod M'Carty More. Shortly after the same period, the Barnwalls reduced the O'Sullivans, and seized and settled at Bearhaven, in the county of Cork; and early in the reign of Henry VII., the O'Sullivans retaliated, attacked them at an advantage, and utterly slaughtered and extirpated the clan; for such events were not unfrequent in these dark and sanguinary days. To whom, therefore, upon a general restoration of property, is the castle of Hugo De Barret, the kingdom of Cork, and the territory of Bearhaven to be adjudged, by a parliamentary committee of claims, formed out of the modern Catholics of the kingdom? Or with what colour of conscience can the Milesians be reluctant to make restitution of their estates to O'Connor, O'Driscol, and the genuine aborigines of this ancient island. For it is a well-known fact, and no doubt of extreme importance at the present period of the world to be ascertained, that O'Connor, O'Dris-

col, and my own ancestor Fagan, were great folks in Hibernia, before the Milesian adventurers had arrived in Spain, or had even taken shipping from Phœnicia.

Is this formidable reassumption to originate with a subsequent critical era of Irish misery, the destruction of the Lords of Desmond, and the bloody triumphs of Lancaster over York, under the partisans of Henry VII., his son, and grand-daughters? Here was a new succession of intruders upon Irish territory; for, except the Fitzgeralds of Leinster, the Savages, and a few other princely houses, all Ireland was devoted to the line of York, and almost all the kingdom, worth subjugation, was ravaged by the selfish and suspicious Tudors. No, it cannot commence with the Tudors; for in that case what is to become of the present possessions of several great Catholic families now resident in Munster, who either rose upon the ruins, or who now occupy the territory of the attainted Earl of Desmond, and of his numerous followers? Will these families relinquish Munster to his descendants; for the heirs of Desmond are not extinct; and still less those of five hundred gentlemen beside, whose lands and lives were involved and lost in his overthrow. "The Earl of Desmond," says *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 361, "possessed whole counties, together with the county palatine of Kerry, made so by Edward III., and had of his own name and race, at least five hundred gentlemen at his command; all whom, with himself, lost their lives within the space of three years;" which is continued by Leland, vol. ii. p. 278: "In this dismal situation of the once great Desmond, his countess fell upon her knees before the Lord Deputy, and with tears petitioned, but in vain, that her husband should be received to mercy; but his force as a rebel was now too inconsiderable, and his possessions to be forfeited were of too princely an extent, for the Queen's ministers to admit of pardon or submission." The first equitable question, therefore, to be asked by the Court of Claims, must be, "Where are the right heirs of the Earl of Desmond, and of his five hundred followers?" And the next

second question will be put to the present Catholic occupiers of those whole counties, and of the county palatine of Kerry: "What title or right have you to usurp, and occupy these lands?" Here are, therefore, fruitful seeds of intestine division among the Catholics themselves respecting ancient titles and claims, even supposing the Protestants totally out of the question.

Or is this reassumption to commence from the latter years of Elizabeth, from James, or from Charles I.? For to render it practicable, it must have a popular origin, a plausible preamble; and legal reasons must be offered and alleged; which last, however, I acknowledge, have seldom been wanting, when required by arbitrary power to sanction any oppression, however iniquitous, or any project, however unconstitutional.

With Elizabeth, for a further reason, it cannot commence: through the whole of her reign, and the beginning of James I. it was the established policy to dispatch and plunder an Irishman of consequence, and to distribute his possessions among unfortunate dependents and miscreants of his own nation. When M'Mahon, chief of Monaghan, was murdered according to form, by the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, the bulk of his lands was bestowed upon four natives.

"The estate of the unhappy M'Mahon," says Dr. Leland, "was distributed to Sir Henry Bagnal, and four of the old Irish septs.—The condemnation of this chieftain confirmed the Irish in their aversion to the English policy, which they considered as a system of hateful cruelty and tyranny."—*Hist. Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 317. — And Morrison relates, (*Historical Relation*, p. 120,) "That Lord Mountjoy never received any Irishman to the Queen's mercy, but such as had drawn blood upon his fellow rebel: and therefore, when the two allies, M'Mahon jun. and Macartymoyle, both offered to submit to her Majesty, his Lordship *would receive neither without the other's head.*" "I have made," says Lord Mountjoy himself, in a letter to England, "some of these reclaimed men put themselves in blood already; for

even now I hear that Lord Mountgarret's sons have killed their friend Clancare and some of Tyrell's followers, since I threatened their father about something I heard suspicious of them." And when, in the same reign, Nugent applied to the president of Munster for pardon, upon submission, he was informed his repentance could not be received until he performed some extraordinary service upon his own party—(meaning that he should basely betray, or perfidiously murder some of his kindred or allied friends.) Nugent, reduced to heavy straits, daring and desperate, betook himself to the Earl of Desmond, and a few days after, riding in his company, upon the Earl's back being turned, he levelled against him a pistol loaded with two balls; but Desmond turning round, perceived his intent: Nugent spurred hard to escape by the goodness of his horse, but he stumbled, was taken, and acknowledging his intent, was executed next day. In his examination, he confessed his intention was to destroy the Earl of Desmond, and afterwards to post away to his brother, James Fitzgerald, call him aside in a secret manner, as if to acquaint him with his brother's death, and then execute as much upon him. He added that they might take his life, but there were many more, whom he perfectly knew, that had sworn unto the president, to effect the murder of both upon promise of their lands."—*Pacata Hibernia, fol.* 37—8. "The army of Elizabeth was crowded with Irish, who were most active and zealous in the reduction of their countrymen. Hugh O'Nial, Earl of Tyrone, had the command of, and led all the Queen's forces, which were so successfully sent against M'Guire; and at the surrender of Kinsale, Burke, the Earl of Clanricard, killed with his own hand above twenty Irish, and cried out to spare no rebels! some Irish of quality were taken prisoners, who offered great ransoms, but upon their being brought to the camp, they were all put to death, and the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam knighted Clanricard

in the field."—*Morrison*, p. 187. "No man," said Sir George Carey, "did bloody his sword upon the Irish more than Lord Clanricard; and he would not suffer any man to take any Irish prisoners."—*Pacata Hib.* fol. 235.

Where is the foundation here of adjustment of property among the heirs of these discordant Irishmen? Will the representatives of M'Mahon remember, alone, that an English deputy tried his ancestor, the lord of the country, by a jury of English common soldiers, and instantly hanged him at his own castle gate, as Baker relates in his *Chronicle*, p. 378; and will they forget that his great landed property was divided among four persons, three of whom were Irish septs, and perhaps his neighbours, kinsmen, or allies?—Or what regulation can take place between the heirs of Hugh O'Neal and M'Guire? or between the heirs of Lord Clanricard and those Irish persons of quality, who, after the battle, in cold blood, he executed in camp. * *

It is judiciously observed by Dr. M'Kenna, that when King James's Parliament revived the Court of Claims, the matter was taken up with extreme delicacy, and was most cautiously proceeded upon: and all that was hazarded was to restore persons recently dispossessed by Cromwell: but at the same time to reimburse all the debenturers whom it should be found necessary to eject. * *

For a moment we will inquire here, what this Catholic Parliament was? And next, what it did?

It was in the plenitude of power; and in possession of the person of the king.—It was at war with Great Britain, and with its native Protestants at home.—It was in alliance with France, Italy, and Spain, and its army was crowded with these national troops.—And all things were in derangement, and all property was at hazard in the state, to tempt and to sanction rapacity and ambition.

Now, upon the revival of the Court of Claims, what did these Catholics do?

Did they go back to the incursions of Strongbow for the invalidation of titles, and the reassumption of territory from the occupiers of the day?—No!

Did they go back to the nefarious plunder of proprietors in possession who were Yorkists, under Henry VII?—No!

Did they go back to Elizabeth to review the robberies of Lord Deputy, and the President of Munster?—No!

Did they go back to James I., when six whole counties were declared escheated to the crown in the space of eight days?—No!

Did they go back to the Asiatic despotism of the intolerable Strafford, who, in his circuit into Connaught, invalidated one hundred and thirty-seven patents to Catholics in one morning?—No!

Did they go back to the subsequent depredations of the puritan lord-justices in the same reign—Parsons, and Meredith, and Borlace?—No!

Did they go back forty years?—No!

They instituted an inquiry into the titles of those, many of them living men, who, thirty-six years before, had been dispossessed by Cromwell, the murderer of their sovereign; and they resolved, "That reimbursement should be made to all debenturers who should be disturbed."—To those hated debenturers whose rights they had never recognized, and with whose persons they never had held intercourse.

* * *

And here a corollary irresistibly obtrudes itself, as growing out of the matter which I have already related, "That the leading maxim of British policy has ever been, to govern Ireland by intestine division: and that in consequence of tyranny, so treacherous and so sanguinary, we can be little astonished at any deed, however extravagant, or any massacre, however enormous, to which this persecuted nation should have had recourse to in their despair! Hunted like brute animals over their native plains, and fomented against each other by the governors of the island, who, awaking and nourishing every malignant pas-

sion, stimulated them to bathe in the carnage of each other; thus performing the office of the great enemy of man, instead of discharging the high commission of supreme and impartial administrators of justice! Who of us can wonder, or who will venture to disapprove, had the natives of the country sworn unceasing enmity against the British name, and deluged the island in the blood of their oppressors!

But let it be supposed that with Cromwell, finally, an inquisition of this nature is a second time to commence, in what situation are, then, to be placed, or under what class of usurpers are then to be arranged, the present Catholics, who now occupy more than the half of the province of Connaught, and almost all Clare; where their miserable ancestors were compelled to retire, when they were driven out of Munster by the implacable Ludlow? To what body of Catholics is that extensive territory now to be adjudged? What is become of those terrifying Catholic natives of Connaught, resident there a hundred years before, as specified in the map? They must have been all turned out; for those unfortunate intruding exiles from Munster dispossessed the natives of Connaught of an immense division of country, to which territory the title of their children or representatives at this moment is at least of as modern a date as that of the debenturers can possibly be to theirs. Where is the foundation here of an adjustment of property among the representatives of these discordant Irishmen? Between the heirs of those Catholics who were driven forcibly by Ludlow into Connaught and Clare, and of the Catholics who were dispossessed by these involuntary usurpers? "By a proclamation of Cromwell and his council, printed at Dublin by William Bladon, in 1654, they were commanded to transplant themselves," says Walth's Reply, p. 33, "before the first of May next ensuing into the province of Connaught and county of Clare, according to former declarations, and this upon the highest penalties. The rigorous execution of this proclamation did manifest itself in the long imprison-

ment of some, the exporting others to Barbadoes, and in the death of Mr. Hethrington in the market-place of Dublin, for not obeying it, as the paper affixed on his breast when he was executed did express the cause of his taking off." And my Lord Clarendon writes, vol. ii. p. 116, that "Cromwell and his council, in Munster, finding the utter extirpation of the nation, which they had intended, to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made an impression upon the most stony hearts, after so many thousands destroyed by the sword, fire, famine, and the plague, and after so many thousands transported into foreign parts, found out the following expedient of transplantation:—There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Connaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which by the plague, and many massacres, remained almost desolate; into this space and circuit of lands they required all the Irish (whom Cromwell, says Dr. Leland, vol. iii., p. 409, had declared innocent of the rebellion,) to retire by a certain day, under penalty of death; and all who should be found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, might be killed by any body who saw or met them."—"Yet even these unhappy gentlemen," says Carte, vol. ii., p. 216, "who were thus violently driven from their own fair estates into Connaught and Clare, were all declared by the council innocent of the rebellion, after a most rigorous inquisition." Notwithstanding which, "in this deplorable condition," says Clarendon, p. 118, "they found themselves obliged to submit to the hardest conditions of their conquerors; and after signing conveyances and releases of their lands which they had left, to go and enjoy lands which belonged to other men." * *

Conquest is neither our object nor our interest. We have a rich country, an able peasantry; are poor, but are out of debt. We lust not for dominion—we are subduing no native princes in the provinces of India. Alas! that game was once played too fatally against

ourselves at home. Nor are we supporting, in any corner of the whole earth, an usurped authority in blood. We are oppressed men upon our native island, more sinned against than sinning. We ask but for our own—to be free in the land which gave us birth—to earn our property with the labour of our bodies, when earned, to have a surety that it is our own, and to have a vote in its disposure, when a portion of it may be necessary to the exigencies of the state.

No. II.

LIST OF THE NAMES OF PERSONS INCLUDED IN THE FUGITIVE BILL, AND BANISHMENT ACT, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

Fugitive Bill.

Adair, ———

Bashford, Thomas Gunning
Burke, William
Burke, James
Bryson, Andrew

Campbell, Wm. (*alias M'Keevers*)
Cooke, Patrick
Cormick, John
Cullen, William

Delany, Michael
Derry, Valentine
Dixon, Thomas
Duckett, ———
Duignan, Miles

Egan, Cornelius

Fitzpatrick, Michael

Holt, Joseph
Houston, Thomas
Hull, James

Jackson, John
Jackson, James

Kelly, James
Kenna, Matthew
Keogh, Bryan

Lewins, Edward John
Lawless, William
Lowry, Alexander

M'Can, Anthony
M'Cormick, Richard
M'Guire, John
M'Mahon, Arthur
Miles, Matthew
Morris, Harvey
Mouritz, Joseph, or Joshua

Neale, James
Nervin, John

O'Brien, John
O'Finn, Edward
Orr, Joseph
Orr, Robert

Plunkett, James

Reynolds, Michael

Swift, Deane
Scully, John
Short, Miles
Short, Owen

Tandy, James Napper
Teeling, Bartholomew
Tone, Theobald Wolfe
Townsend, James
Turner, Samuel

Banishment Act.

Andoe, Thomas
Astley, Alexander
Aylmer, William
Banks, Henry
Bannen, Peter
Barrett, John

Boyle, Edward
Brady, Thomas
Bushe, James M.
Byrne, Richard
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Patrick
Byrne, Garret

Carthy, Denis
Castles, John
Chambers, John
Comyn, John
Cormick, Joseph
Corcoran, Peter
Cuff, Farrell
Cumming, George
Cuthbert, Joseph

Daly, Richard
Davis, Joseph
Dillon, Richard
Devine, Patrick
Dorney, John
Dowling, Matthew
Doyle, Michael
Dry, Thomas

Emmet, Thomas Addis
Evans, Hamden

Farrell, Andrew
Farrell, Denis
Fitzgerald, Edward
Flood, Michael

Geraghty, James
Goodman, Robert
Goodman, Rowland
Greene, John
Griffin, Lawrence

Haffey, James
Hanlon, Patrick
Harrison, John
Houston, William
Hudson, Edward

Ivers, Peter

Jackson, Henry

Kavanagh, Morgan
Keane, Edward Crookshank
Keenan, John
Kelly, Lawrence
Kennedy John
Kennedy, John Gorman
Kinkead, John
Kinselagh, John

Lacy, John
Lube, George
Lynch, John
Lynch, Patrick

M'Cabe, William Putnam
M'Dermott, Bryan
Macneven, William James
Macan, Patrick
Martin Christopher
Madden, Patrick
Meagher, Francis
Milliken, Israel
Mowney, Patrick
Mulhall, Michael

Neilson, Samuel
Neilson, Robert

O'Connor, Arthur
O'Reilly, Richard

Quigley, Michael

Redfern, Robert
Reily, John
Reynolds, Thomas
Rose, James
Russell, Thomas

Sweetman, John
Smyth, James
Sampson, William
Speers, Henry
Swing, John

Tierman, James
Toland, Daniel

Ware, Hugh
Wilson, Hugh

Young, John

No. III.

Copy of the Admissions, &c., of some of the Students at Trinity College, Dublin.

Nomina Admissorum.	Qualitates.	Anni.	Patres.	Patrum Qualitates.	Loca Nativitatum.	Tempora Admissorum.	Ludimagistri.	Tutores.
Henricus Sheares	Pen. (*a*)	18	Henrici	Gen. (*b*)	Corcagensis	1773, 3 Nov., h. 4 P.M.	M. Adamson	Mr. Richardson
Chris. Temple Emmet	P.....	14	Roberti	Medici	Dubliniensis	1775, May 1, h. 6, A.M.	Mr. Kerr	— Hales
Rogerus Connor	P.....	16	Rogeri	Gen.....	Dublin.	1777, Jan 16, h. 1, P.M.	— M'Causland	— Richardson
Thomas Addis Emmet	P.....	14	Roberti	Medici	Corcag.	1778, Julii 7, h. 7, A.M.	— Kerr	— Hales
Arthurus Connor ..	P.....	17	Rogeri	Gen.....	Corcag.	1779, Junii 7, h. 6, A.M.	Dr. Browne	— Day
Admissus in Sociorum Commensali, April 24, 1781.								
Tehobald Wolfe Tone	P.....	17	Pet.	Mechan (*c*)..	Dublin.	1781, Feb. 19	Mr. Craig	— Young
John Sheares	P.....	16	Hen.	Gen	Corcag.	1783, Jan 20, h. 1, P.M.	— Leigh	— Stack
Robertus Emmet....	P.....	15	Roberti	Medici	Dublin.	1793, Oct. 7, h. 1, P.M.	— Lewis	— Graves

(*a*) "Pen.," and "P.," are contractions for Pensionarius. (*b*) "Gen." is a contraction for Generosi. (*c*) "Mechan." is a contraction for Mechanici.

No. IV.

UNITED IRISHMEN AND IRISH REFUGEES IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE.

I AM indebted for the following account to Colonel O'Neil, of Paris; extracted chiefly from the records in the Minister of War's department, in which Colonel O'Neil's researches respecting the services and fate of the officers of the Irish brigade have been carried on for many years.

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, general of brigade in the service of the French Republic, died at Bourdeaux in 1803.

DAVID B. WARDEN (in 1798 a probationer of a presbytery, implicated in the affairs of 1798, and permitted to go into exile), formerly consul from the United States of America to Paris; a member of the Society of United Irishmen. He published several works justly esteemed. Mr. Warden resides at Paris; he is a corresponding member of the French Institute, and for many years past has devoted himself solely to literary pursuits.

MONTMORENCI HARVEY MORRES, born in Tipperary in 1767; named to the chief command of the United Irishmen, in that county, in 1798; delivered up by the authorities at Hamburgh, with Corbet and Blackwell, in November, same year, to the English Government; released in 1802; attained the rank of colonel, and then of adjutant-commandant, in the French service. He was a chevalier de Saint Louis, and member of several scientific institutions. He died at St. Germaine, near Paris, about 1839.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR, lieutenant-general in the service of France. He had the command assigned to him of the intended expedition, in 1803, when the Maréchal Augereau was to attempt a descent on

Ireland. This expedition not having taken place, this army was disbanded; and since then, General O'Connor has not been employed.

HUGH WARE, a retired colonel, resides at Tours. He commanded the Irish legion, and was in several engagements. At the battle of Lowemberg he received a wound from a bayonet in the head. He succeeded to Colonel O'Mahony in the command of the Irish legion.

JOHN TENNENT, chef de bataillon, of the same corps, was killed the 19th of August, 1813, at the battle of Lowemberg.

—— ALLEN, anien chef de bataillon of the Irish legion, inhabits the town of Caen; served with distinguished bravery in the Peninsular war, and for his services received the cross of the Legion of Honour.

—— O'REILLY, acting chef de bataillon, of the same corps, lives at Nevers.

MILES BYRNE, chef de bataillon, entered the service as "sous lieutenant," is now knight of the Legion of Honour, of the order of Saint Louis; resides at present in Paris.

GENERAL LAWLESS entered the service in the grade of captain, and rose to the rank of maréchal de camp; distinguished himself in Germany and Spain; lost a leg in the former country, and died the 25th December, 1824, in Paris. His widow, the sister of Mr. George Evans, of Portrane, resides near Paris.

GENERAL MAC SHEEHY was killed by a shot from a cannon-ball, at the battle of Eylau, the 8th of February, 1807.

BARTHOLOMEW TEELING served in the Irish legion; he was a knight of the Legion of Honour; captured in Ireland in 1798, and executed.

COLONEL BLACKWELL, was chief of a squadron of horse in 1815; he was afterwards commandant of the town of Biche. He was in all the campaigns of the Revolution, and was a knight of the Legion of Honour. He died at Paris from the effects of his wounds.

W. J. MACNEVEN was a captain in the Irish legion; he quitted the service in 1804. He died in the United States, America.

—— RYAN, a captain of the Irish legion; he took part in the defence of Anvers, and was made prisoner of war by the English at the time of the surrender of Flushing; he returned to France in 1812. He was wounded in 1814 by a gun-shot, at a sally from the Square at Anvers. He obtained leave of absence for the recovery of his health, and did not again repair to the legion.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, adjutant-general in the French army; he took part in the expedition of General Hardy. He put an end to his life in an Irish prison in 1798.

WILLIAM CORBET, maréchal de camp, major-general, commander of the Legion of Honour, knight of Saint Louis, and of the order of the Saviour in Greece; served in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Greece. Died in Paris, 12th September, 1842.

FREDERICK CORBET, a captain of the royal corps and a staff officer; he served in the Irish legion before he entered the corps in which he now serves, as aide-de-camp to General Gazau, at St. Denis, and has received the cross of the Legion of Honour.

—— BURGESS accompanied by his brother John, came to France in 1803, and were offered the brevet of sub-lieutenants. The eldest brother did not accept the service, but he resided from that time in Paris. John Burgess obtained the rank of sub-lieutenant in the Irish legion; he then became lieutenant, and after some years of service he resigned. At present he lives in London.

(The military rank of *adjutant-commandant* was instituted by Napoleon, to have active officers placed at his command, or those of his marshals commanding *corps-d'-armés*, and to be about his person to take his orders on the field of battle, and put the same in execution, according as circumstances would require them to act; for which reason they ranked above the colonels, although inferior in command to major-general.

At the peace, Louis the Eighteenth suppressed the rank of *adjutant-commandant*, and issued a royal ordonnance to have them rank with colonels of the *etat-major*.)

Of Mr. Lewines, I am unable to give any precise details of his services, as I have not been able to procure from his son the documents which were necessary to facilitate the task of giving some account of his father's career in France, in connexion with the subject I am engaged in.

Mr. Lewines died in Paris in December, 1827, and his remains are interred in the cemetery of Père la Chaise.

FLORENCE LEWINES, the eldest son of the preceding, now bearing the name of Monsieur de Luynes, was born in Ireland; he resides in Paris, No. 76, in Vaugirard-street. He formerly occupied the post of chef de division in the department of the minister of Public Institution; but at the Revolution of July, 1830, he lost his situation.

With the preceding account, I received from Colonel O'Neil the following statement of his father's services and his own in the French service:—

JEAN O'NEIL, maréchal de camp in the service of France, was born in 1738, in the parish of Derenoose, in the diocese of Armagh, in Ireland. He left his country very young and went to Paris, where his brother was the principal of the Irish college. When he had finished his studies at the college of Plessis, he entered as cadet the regiment of Clare Infantry, in 1753; he passed with the same rank into the regiment of Rotche, in 1759; he then became second lieutenant in the regiment of Walsh, formerly Rotche, the 26th of April, 1761; ensign, the 1st of March, 1763; first lieutenant, the 24th of March, 1769; captain commanding a company, the 13th of February, 1774; captain commandant, 1776; chevalier de Saint Louis, the 22nd of January, 1779; major, the 6th of July, 1788; lieutenant-colonel of the 92nd regiment, formerly Walsh, the 25th July, 1791; colonel commandant of the same

corps, the 8th of January, 1792; maréchal de camp, the 15th of May, 1793. He made the campaigns of Germany, in 1759, 60, 61, and 63; he was at the battle of Corback, the 10th of July, 1760; and at the defence of Fritzla. He took part in the campaign of Corsica, in 1769 and 1770; was at the taking of Tobago, in June, 1781; at that of Saint Eustache, the 26th of November, 1781; of Saint Christophe, the 13th of February, 1782.

In all, he was at three naval engagements with the ship, the *Victory*, against Admiral Rodney. He held a garrison out of Europe from 1788 to 1790, and from 1791 to 1792. His military career terminated with the campaigns of 1793, 94, 95, 96, 97, and 98. The 10th of July, 1799, they authorized him to retire to France, and the 28th of May, 1801, he obtained a retiring pension of three thousand francs. This general officer fixed his residence at Paris, and he died there about the month of March, 1811.

CHARLES O'NEIL, retired colonel, son of the former, was born in the department of the port of Calais, the 29th of September, 1779. He entered in 1791 the regiment of Walsh, in which his father was major. After having passed through all the inferior ranks, he was successively named, in the 49th regiment of infantry, formed from the regiment of Walsh, sub-lieutenant, the 10th of March, 1799; lieutenant of grenadiers, the 4th of February, 1800; captain, the 5th of October, 1803; captain of grenadiers, the 20th of June, 1808; chef de bataillon, the 7th of September, 1811; first major, 13th of August, 1813; put on half-pay in 1815; he was made lieutenant-colonel to the legion of l'Hérant, the 7th of February, 1816; from which he passed to the legion de L'Oise (become the 30th regiment the 7th of March, 1816); and was made colonel of the 27th regiment the 14th of February, 1821. He had been created a member of the Legion of Honour, at the first siege of Saragossa, the 26th of July, 1808; officer of the same order, the 10th of March, 1815; he embarked, in 1791, for Saint Domingo; returned to France in

1792, and then made the various campaigns, from 1792 to 1798. He was wounded and taken prisoner the 4th of November, 1799, at the battle of Fossano; he was conducted to Gougrie, and did not return to his regiment till the 22nd of March, 1801.

He served on board the ship, *Le Jupiter*, and the frigate, *La Valeureuse*, from the 9th of June, 1804, to the 23rd of September, 1805, and in the ship *Le Courageux*, the 1st of August, 1806, till the 21st of November, 1807; in Spain and in Portugal, during the years 1808, 9, 10, 11, and 12. At the first siege of Saragossa, he received a contusion of the left arm, at the attack of the convent of Capuchins, which was ably disputed by the enemy. The 22nd of July, 1812, at the battle of Salamanca, he commanded a battalion of voltigeurs; received a gun shot wound, which disabled his left foot; he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was taken from hospital to hospital, from Salamanca to Alresford. After having been ill treated, as were also his companions in misfortune, in almost every place through which they passed on their way to Lisbon,* he was sent back to France, in consequence of his very serious wounds. He rejoined the depôt of his regiment at Lorient, and took part, notwithstanding his state of suffering, in the campaign of 1814, at the head of a battalion of the National Guard of Deux Sêvres, and was engaged at Meaux, and at the defence of Paris. At length he was, at the head of the 27th regiment, in the campaigns of 1823 and 1824, in Spain; assisted at the siege of Cadiz, and was gazetted in the *Moniteur* for the affair

* It is, however, but justice to say, that a young English colonel, who commanded at Almeida, went to visit the wounded, with a great deal of kindness, and made them a present of twelve or fourteen bottles of Madeira wine, a precious gift in a town where one saw nothing but ruins. At Celorico, they were also treated with much consideration by the commandant of the place, Mr. Ametière, a French emigrant. At length, Mr. Sanders, director of Coimbra, gave to these unfortunates all the care and all the attention they could have a right to expect from friends. May happiness be the lot of those benefactors of humanity!

of the 16th of July, 1823, before the island of Leon. After the taking of Cadiz, he asked permission to retire, but this request not having been attended with success, he was placed as officer of Ordonnance, near Lieutenant-general the Marquis of Clermont, minister of war. He then became Chief of the Bureau of Infantry, and occupied this place till the Revolution of July, 1830. Colonel O'Neil from that time remained unemployed, and obtained leave to retire the 26th of May, 1834.

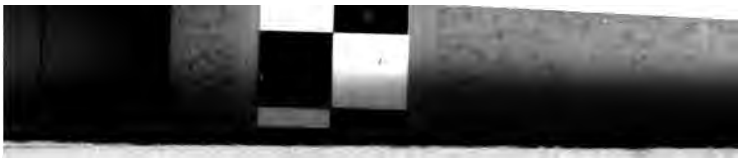
No. V.

EXPENSE OF SUPPRESSING CIVIL WARS IN IRELAND.

The reduction of Ireland by King William cost England, according to Story, £9,956,613; being the "total expense of English regular forces in Ireland in 1689, 1690, and 1691." According to Mr. Callaghan, the author of "The Green Book"* the total expense, inclusive of the cost of the militia and yeomanry force, was about £11,000,000. In the three campaigns, the expenditure for the regular troops is estimated by Story, in 1689, for 25,000 men; in 1690, for 41,000; and in 1691, for about 37,000.

The population of Ireland at the Revolution did not exceed a million and a half. The Catholic portion of it about one million; and as the rebellion was a "Popish" one, the subjection of that portion of the million capable of bearing arms cost William three campaigns, and England between ten and eleven millions of money. These wars of William cost Ireland, in the course of the three campaigns, the lives of 100,000 of her people, and left 300,000 "ruined and undone." These latter incidents in the history of William's wars in Ireland are slight events, perhaps, in comparison with their successful issue. But the ten millions of pounds sterling are mighty

* Green Book, p. 462.



matters of consideration for chancellors of the Exchequer. It may not appear very surprising that the people of Ireland should connect the glorious prowess and immortal memory of the great and good King William with certain historical data, rather painful to recur to, than otherwise; and that his memory cannot be recalled at the orgies of Orangeism without suggesting, in the minds of one party, ideas fraught with mournful reminiscences of defeat and carnage, and exhibiting most ungenerous triumphs on the part of their opponents in the celebration of the blood-stained issue of a civil war, in whose calamitous successes no Christian people should exult.

The population of Ireland in 1798 exceeded four millions and a half. In forty-five years the population has doubled. On the authority of Emmet, O'Connor, and Macneven, the number of United Irishmen, enrolled, amounted to 500,000; the number they counted on as an effective force was 300,000.

The effective strength of the army in Ireland, exclusive of yeomanry, according to an official return, quoted by the author of the "Strictures on Plowden's History," page 169, on the 1st of August, 1798, was 52,247; cavalry, 7,041, infantry, 45,206. The yeomanry force, by the Commons' Secret Report of 1798, exceeded 50,000. So that the total force exceeded 100,000. The loss on the part of the King's troops, regulars, militia, and yeomanry, is estimated by Plowden, Barrington, Curran, and Moore, at 20,000; and the loss on the side of the people, at 50,000. Total loss, 70,000.

In the former series of this work, the cost of fomenting and suppressing this rebellion, (confined to three counties,) and effecting the measure of the Union, was shewn, at the very lowest estimate, to have amounted to twenty-one millions; of which sum, for the suppression of the rebellion, sixteen millions is estimated to have been expended, on the large military force kept up, from 1797 to

1802,* the transport of troops, &c., &c., &c.; the suffering royalist expenditure is estimated at one million and a half; the secret service outlay, from 1797 to 1804, at fifty-three thousand six hundred and forty-seven pounds; increase of legal expenses, attendant on the increased number of prosecutions, at five hundred thousand; and probable amount of pensions, from 1797 continuing to be paid to 1842, at one million. So that the cost of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, in 1798, it would appear, cost more than five times the amount which was expended in the suppression of the recent Canadian one; which, on the authority of Sir Robert Peel, cost three millions and a half.† To go to war with Ireland forty-five years ago, with half the amount of its present population, cost Great Britain about nineteen millions, and both countries a loss of 70,000 lives.

* In 1801, the Secretary at war stated in the Imperial Parliament, in the debate on the Irish Militia Bill, that the number of troops then in Ireland was 60,000—12,000 regulars, 20,000 fencibles, and 28,000 militia.

† Debate on the Canadian Corn Importation Question, the 23rd May, 1843:—"Sir Robert Peel said, "They found that a rebellion had recently existed in the colony; that the cost of suppressing that rebellion had been, by direct votes of that house, little short of two millions of money; that when they came to add the additional cost of maintaining the army in the colony, and of transporting forces thither, the total expense was in reality, little less than 3,500,000; there was a force in Canada of no less than twenty-two battalions of British infantry."

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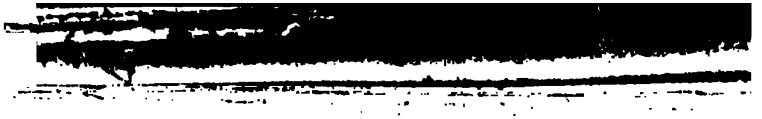

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